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The Cambridge History of American Literature

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Later National Literature: Part III

167766.
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New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons
Cambridge, England: University Press
1921

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CHAPTER XXIV

Economists

ECONOMICS as a science is due to the analysis of the modern economic organization which was beginning to take shape in Great Britain at the time of Adam Smith and in France at the time of the Physiocrats. In the United States the economic transition occurred much later. There, as in Europe, the formulation of systematic thought was preceded by a series of unsystematic discussions and by a groping after true principles. These discussions were the outgrowth of dissatisfaction with existing conditions and centred about definite practical problems. Moreover, in almost all cases, the discussion took the form of a pamphlet literature which, in not a few instances, developed into a wordy warfare. In the pre-Revolutionary period in America there were only a few economic topics that attracted any attention. These were agriculture, trade, taxation, and currency, of which the most important, as well as the most contentious, was the last.

As in every primitive society, the currency problem involved the means of payment, public and private, and always loomed large in popular interest. Since it was almost impossible, for well-known reasons, to retain in the colonies an adequate circulation of coin, the gap was filled by the issue of paper money. Banking and currency problems therefore early engrossed the attention of colonial thinkers.

The first, and the only, economic pamphlets of the seventeenth century that have been preserved are *Severals Relating to the Fund* (1682), *A Discussion and Explanation of the Bank of Credit* (1687), and *Some Considerations on the Bills of Credit now passing in New England* (1691). These were anonymous

Massachusetts publications of ephemeral merit. In the eighteenth century there were several well-defined periods of active discussion in Massachusetts, centring respectively about the years 1714, 1720, and 1740.[1] Among the disputants were men like John Wise, John Colman, Hugh Vance, and Richard Frye—clergymen, business men, and visionaries. Far and away the ablest was the learned physician, Dr. William Douglass (1692–1742), who wrote *An Essay Concerning Silver and Paper More Especially with Regards to the British Colonies in New England* (1738) and a *Discourse Concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America, Especially with Regard to Their Paper Money* (1740).

The currency debate was not confined to Massachusetts. In 1729 there appeared in Philadelphia Benjamin Franklin's *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of Paper Currency*. This was a well-reasoned defence of the government notes issued by Pennsylvania on land security and in reference to which the distinguished author later wrote in his *Autobiography:* "My friends, who considered I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money, a most profitable job and a great help to me." In 1734 there was published in Charleston the first Southern tract on the subject, an *Essay on Currency* of some merit. In 1737 a New York pamphlet appeared, under the title *Scheme (by Striking 20,000 Pounds of Paper Money) to Encourage Raising of Hemp and the Manufacture of Iron in the Province of New York.* This was followed in the ensuing decade by two tracts, *A Discourse Concerning Paper Money in which its Principles are Laid Open* (Philadelphia, 1743), by John Webbe, and *An Address to the Inhabitants of North Carolina on the Want of a Medium in Lieu of Money* (Williamsburg, 1746).

With the prohibition, in 1751, of the further emission in the New England colonies of any paper money the discussion was transferred to coinage problems. Two Boston tracts of 1762 are here to be noted: Thomas Hutchinson's *A Projection for Regulating the Value of Gold and Silver Coins* and Oxenbridge Thatcher's *Considerations on Lowering the Value of Gold Coins within the Province of Massachusetts Bay.* An echo of the

[1] These pamphlets were reprinted in four volumes in 1911 by the Prince Society of Boston under the editorship of McFarland Davis.

older discussions is found in Roger Sherman's *A Caveat against Injustice or an Enquiry into the Evil Consequences of a Fluctuating Medium of Exchange*, published at New York in 1752 under the name of Philoeunomos; R. T.'s *A Letter to the Common People of the Colony of Rhode Island Concerning the Unjust Designs . . . of a Number of Misers and Money Jobbers* (Providence, 1763); and a *Letter from a Gentleman in Connecticut relative to Paper Currency* (Boston, 1766). The ablest of the pamphlets of this period was *Considerations on a Paper Currency* by Tench Francis, of Pennsylvania, in 1765.

While the currency question attracted the greatest attention, we find a few discussions of trade and tax problems. Among these tracts worthy of mention are *Proposals for Traffic and Commerce or Foreign Trade in New Jersey* by "Amicus patriæ" (Philadelphia, 1718); *Observations on the Act for Granting an Excise on Wine* (Boston, 1720); Francis Rawle's *Some Remedies Proposed for Restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania with Some Remarks on Its Trade* (Philadelphia, 1721); and the anonymous *The Interest of the Country in laying Duties: or a Discourse shewing how Duties on some Sorts of Merchandize may make the Province of New York richer than it would be without them* (New York, n. d. [1726]). To the last tract two replies were published in the same year. It was not until the middle of the century that we again find any discussion of taxation in *Some Observations on the Bill Intitled An Act for Granting to His Majesty an Excise upon Wines and on Spirits Distilled* (Boston, 1754).

The writings on agriculture, on the other hand, began a little later. The well-known clergyman, Jared Eliot, published his *Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England as it is or may be Ordered*, in six parts from 1748 to 1759 in New London, New York, and New Haven. The interest engendered in the problem led to the publication of *Extracts from the Essays of the Dublin Society Relating to the Culture and Manufacture of Flax* (Annapolis, 1748) and to Charles Woodmaston's *A Letter from a Gentleman from South Carolina on the Cultivation of Indico* (Charleston, 1754).

With the enactment of the Molasses Act of 1763 there ensued a discussion of the economic aspects of the problem. Among the pamphlets three deserve mention: *Considerations*

upon the Act of Parliament whereby a Duty is Laid of 6d. Sterling per Gallon on Molasses, etc., Shewing some of the many Inconveniences Necessarily Resulting from the Operation of the said Act (Boston, 1764); *Reasons Against the Renewal of the Sugar Act as it will be Prejudicial to the Trade not only of the Northern Colonies but to those of Great Britain also* (Boston, 1764); and Thomas Fitch's *Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be Charged with Internal Taxes* (New Haven, 1764). In fact, the only tract of this period not directly connected with taxation was *The Commercial Conduct of the Province of New York Considered* by "A Linen Draper" (New York, 1767), which consisted of a plea to establish manufactures. With the imposition of the stamp taxes by the mother country in the following years there came a flood of controversial literature which was, however, so overwhelmingly political in character as to call for no detailed comment here.

In the pre-Revolutionary literature there stands out only one prominent name in American economic discussion, Benjamin Franklin.[1] His contributions represent the common-sense reactions of a powerful mind to the problems of the day, reinforced later on by general reflections suggested by the Physiocrats and Adam Smith. In his first work on paper currency, referred to above, Franklin was influenced by Petty in selecting labour, rather than silver, as the best measure of value. In his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751) he shows himself a forerunner of Malthus, and incidentally points out why wages must continue to be high in a country where there is an abundance of free land. In *The Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to her Colonies and the Acquisition of Canada and Guadaloupe* (1760) he emphasizes the principle of division of labour, and explains why manufacturing industry is difficult to introduce where the profits of agriculture are high. In *On the Price of Corn and Management of the Poor* (1767) he elucidates the reasons why export taxes are injurious and contends that "The best way to do good to the poor is not making them easy in poverty, but leading or driving them out of it." In his *Positions to be Examined Concerning National Wealth* (1769) he considers, and gives partial adherence to, the Physiocratic doctrine. In his *Reflections on the Augmentation of Wages which will be Occa-*

[1] See, also, Book I, Chap. VI.

sioned in Europe by the American Revolution (1788) he virtually develops the modern theory of the economy of high wages. Finally, in his *Wail of a Protected Manufacturer* (1789) he punctures some of the selfish arguments of a favoured class.

With the outbreak of the Revolution a new chapter in economic discussion is initiated. The fiscal difficulties of the Revolution and the economic distress under the Confederation engendered much debate. Far and away the two ablest writers were Pelatiah Webster and S. Gale. Webster began in 1776, and continued for a decade, to expound, in consonance with the most modern principles, the currency evils of the time. These tracts were collected, with some additions, in a volume entitled *Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finances, and Other Subjects* (Philadelphia, 1791). Gale, a native of South Carolina, published in three volumes four *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Public Credit* (1784–1786), which have, moreover, the distinction of being the earliest effort to illustrate economic problems by mathematical symbols. Other substantial contributions were made to the discussion, notably in *An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade* (Philadelphia, 1784); James Swan's *A National Arithmetic or Observations on the Finances of Massachusetts* (1786); William Barton's *The True Interest of the United States and Particularly of Pennsylvania Considered* (Philadelphia, 1786); the anonymous *Reflections on the Policy and Necessity of Encouraging the Commerce of the Citizens of the United States* (Richmond, 1786); Matthew McConnell's *An Essay on the Domestic Debts of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1787); and the anonymous *Observations on the Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce of the United States by a Citizen of the United States* (New York, 1789).

With the adoption of the new Constitution the economic questions were put in the forefront of the battle and engaged the attention of the leading statesmen. Of these only a very few were pre-eminent as economic thinkers. Jefferson never pretended to grasp economic problems, his only contributions to the subject being found in his *Notes on Virginia* (1786), which disclose a striking incapacity to foretell the future industrial development of the country. Many years later Jefferson, as he tells us himself, "carefully revised and corrected" Destutt

Tracy's *A Treatise on Political Economy* (Georgetown, D. C., 1817), which was translated from the unpublished French original. There is, however, no evidence that Jefferson profited from its perusal. On the other hand, Hamilton showed in his great state papers and notably in his two *Reports on Public Credit* (1790, 1795), as well as in his *Report on Manufactures* (1791), that he possessed a remarkable acquaintance with economic principles as then understood. There is in fact no statesman of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Turgot, who combined more successfully the perspicacity of a great leader of men with the ability to present powerful and sustained reasoning on economic problems. The only other American statesman who can even remotely be compared to Hamilton is Gallatin, who even proved himself the superior of Hamilton as a technical financier. His principal contribution to fiscal science was the proof, long before it was recognized by the British economists, of the fallacy underlying the sinking fund. The chief of his earlier writings was the *Sketch of the Finances of the United States* (1796) and the most important of his later contributions were his *Considerations on the Currency and Banking System of the United States* (1831) and the *Memorial of the Committee of the Free Trade Convention* (1831). Worthy of note also is Secretary Wolcott's *Report on Direct Taxes* (1796).

The last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed an increasing attention paid to commercial and financial questions. In 1791 there appeared *A Brief Examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the United States* and in 1795 a translation of Brissot de Warville's *The Commerce of America with Europe*. Prominent in the financial discussion were Governor James Sullivan's *The Path to Riches. An Inquiry into the Origin and the Use of Money* (Boston, 1792); *The Shepherd's Contemplation, or an Essay on Ways and Means to Pay the Public Debt* (Philadelphia, 1794); and William Findley's *Review of the Revenue System Adopted by the First Congress* (Philadelphia, 1794). Works on agronomy now multiplied. The field had up to that time largely been occupied by the two-volume work on *American Husbandry. By an American* (1775). Now there appeared in rapid succession Samuel Deane's *The New England Farmer* (Worcester, 1790); the *Sketches on Rotations of Crops* (Philadelphia, 1792); John Spurrier's *The Practical*

Farmer (Wilmington, 1793); and J. B. Bordley's *Essays and Notes on Husbandry* (Philadelphia, 1799). This period also witnessed the beginnings of statistical investigation, as notably Jedidiah Morse's *The American Geographer* (Elizabethtown, 1789); and *A View of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1794) by Tench Coxe, who was also responsible for a number of other memoirs on economic topics.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw but little change in the general character of economic discussion. The United States continued to be overwhelmingly an agricultural country and it was only toward the end of this period that New England was beginning to be affected by the industrial transition which was responsible for the growth of economic science in Great Britain. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, of which the first American edition had appeared in 1789, was now reprinted in 1811 and 1818; Ricardo's *Principles* appeared in an American edition in 1819, and J. B. Say's *Treatise on Political Economy* was translated in 1821. None of these, however, seems to have aroused much attention or interest. The first American work with an independent title was *An Essay on the Principles of Political Economy* (1805), which was a rather insignificant treatise on banking and public revenue. Somewhat similar were L. Baldwin's *Thoughts on the Study of Political Economy as Connected with the Population, Industry, and Paper Currency of the United States* (Cambridge, 1809) and A. V. Johnson's *Inquiry into the Nature of Value and Capital* (New York, 1813). More significant was Daniel Raymond's *The Elements of Political Economy* (1820), which disclosed an acquaintance with the English writers and which laid the foundations for the defence of the protective system, afterwards elaborated by List. The influence of Malthus is perceptible in A. H. Everett's *New Ideas on Population* (1823), in which the invincibly optimistic attitude of youthful America is revealed.

The chief lines of discussion were therefore largely a continuation of the preceding period. The interest temporarily manifested in industry is attested by George Logan's *A Letter to the Citizens of Pennsylvania on the Necessity of Promoting Agriculture, Manufactures and the Useful Arts* (1800) and the *Essay on the Manufacturing Interests of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1804). Agricultural problems were treated by

Thomas Moore in *The Great Error of American Agriculture Exposed* (Baltimore, 1801); James Humphrey's *Gleanings on Husbandry* (Philadelphia, 1803); John Roberts's *The Pennsylvania Farmer* (Philadelphia, 1804); and, above all, by John Taylor's *Arator* (Georgetown, 1814) and J. S. Skinner's *The American Farmer* (Baltimore, 1820). Colonel Taylor, of Virginia, is also to be noted for his earlier *Enquiry into the Principles and Tendencies of Certain Public Measures* (Philadelphia, 1794) and his later *Tyranny Unmasked* (1822). A growing interest was now taken in statistical presentation. Worthy of notice are S. Blodgett, Jr.'s *Thoughts on the Increasing Wealth and Natural Economy of the United States* (1801) and *Economica* (1806); Timothy Dwight's *Statistical Account of Connecticut* (1811); R. Dickinson's *A Geographical and Statistical Review of Massachusetts* (1813); and Moses Greenleaf's *Statistical View of Maine* (1816). Widely read were Adam Seybert's *Statistical Annals* (1818), D. B. Warden's *Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States* (3 vols., 1819), John Bristed's *Resources of the United States* (1818), and William Darby's *Universal Gazetteer* (1827) and *View of the United States, Historical, Geographical, and Statistical* (1828). We may also mention that the discussion on the recharter of the bank was responsible for Dr. Erick Bollman's *Paragraphs on Banks* (Philadelphia, 1810) and the *Letters of Common Sense Respecting the State Bank and Paper Currency* (Raleigh, 1811).

There is only one author of prominence during this period and he was in many respects an amateur economist whose chief reputation was earned in other fields. Mathew Carey (1760–1839) of Philadelphia diverted such leisure as he could take from his publishing business to a consideration of economic questions. In the earlier period he was interested in banking topics, as is shown by his *Memorials Praying a Repeal or Suspension of the Law Annulling the Charter of the Bank* (1786), his *Letters to Adam Seybert on the Bank* (1811), and his *Essays on Banking* (1816). In the meantime he had issued *The Olive Branch* (1814), devoted to some of the economic and political questions growing out of the war, which rapidly ran through many editions. Beginning in the twenties, however, he devoted most of his efforts to a defence of the protective system, as is evidenced by his *Essays on Political Economy* (1822), *An*

Appeal to Common Sense (1823), *The Crisis* (1823), *The Political Economist* (1824), *Prospects on and Beyond the Rubicon* (1830), and an *Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land* (1836). Carey was primarily a controversial pamphleteer, and his contributions, although exerting considerable influence at the time, were not of lasting note.

The second and third quarters of the nineteenth century were marked by two significant facts. The industrial transition in the East, together with the immigration to the West and South, brought into the forefront of political discussion four economic problems. These were the labour question, the land question, the money question, and the free trade controversy.[1] Each of these gave rise to a vast pamphlet literature. The other important fact is the emergence of some interest in political economy as a science and the institution of college chairs devoted to the subject.

Taking up first the general economic discussion, two prominent names deserve attention. The Rev. John McVickar (1787–1868) occupied from 1817 at Columbia College the chair of philosophy, to the title of which there was added shortly thereafter that of political economy. Having already made a contribution to the banking system in New York under the pseudonym of Junius, he published, in 1825, his *Outlines of Political Economy*, followed a decade later by his *First Lessons in Political Economy* (1835). The *Outlines* were a reprint of McCulloch's article in the Encyclopedia Britannica, but McVickar added what is described on the title page as *Notes Explanatory and Critical and a Summary of the Science*. Thomas Cooper (1759–1840) was president of South Carolina College at Columbia, and from 1824 professor of chemistry and political economy. Having previously (1823) written *Two Tracts on the Proposed Alteration of the Tariff*, he published in 1826 his *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy*, which ran through several editions and which devoted some attention to the views of the socialists in New York. Cooper followed this by a *Manual of Political Economy* (1834). Neither McVickar nor Cooper departed materially from the position of the nascent political economy in England. A keener writer was the Southern editor, J. N. Cardozo, whose *Notes on Political Economy* (1826) dis-

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XXI.

closed opposition to the Ricardian law of rent, but whose book culminated in a defence of free trade. The only other contribution of the decade was the *Outline of Political Economy* (1828) by William Jennison.

The next decade showed more activity. Beginning with the fugitive writings of William Beach Lawrence, *Two Lectures on Political Economy* (1832), W. H. Hale's *Useful Knowledge for the Producers of Wealth* (1833), and *An Essay on the Principles of Political Economy Designed as a Manual for Practical Men by an American* (1837), we come to more formal works: S. P. Newman's *Elements of Political Economy* (1835); President Francis Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy* (1837); and Theodore Sedgwick's *Public and Private Economy*, in three parts (1836–39). Professor H. Vethake, of the University of Pennsylvania, who had published several *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy* in 1831 and 1833, now issued his *Principles of Political Economy* (1838), containing the substance of the courses given since 1822. Professor George Tucker, of the University of Virginia, published in 1837 *The Laws of Wages, Profits, and Rent Investigated* and followed this by *The Theory of Money and Banks Investigated* (1839). Worthy of notice also is the work by the engineer Charles Ellet, Jr., *An Essay on the Laws of Trade in Reference to the Works of Internal Improvement* (1839).

The only book of this period which manifested any originality was John Rae's *Statement of New Principles on the Subject of Political Economy* (Boston, 1834). Rae, a Canadian, took issue with the prevalent English school in two points. He made a distinct contribution to the theory of capital and he laid a more solid foundation for the defence of the protective system. Rae is the only American writer of this period who attracted the notice of John Stuart Mill and whose contributions have received much attention in recent times.

During the forties the interest in political economy seemed to slacken. Only four books are to be recorded. Professor A. Potter's *Political Economy, Its Objects, Uses and Principles* (1840), which was largely an adaptation of Poulett Scrope; the *Notes on Political Economy* (1844) by "a Southern planter" (N. A. Ware); E. C. Seaman's *Essays on the Progress of Nations in Productive Industry, Civilization, and Wealth* (1846); and

Calvin Colton's *Public Economy for the United States* (1848). Much the same is true of the fifties, with the appearance of G. Opdyke's *A Treatise on Political Economy* (1851); Professor Francis Bowen's *The Principles of Political Economy* (1856); and Professor John Bascom's *Political Economy* (1859). Most of these were textbooks exerting comparatively little influence outside the colleges. More widely read were the *Elements of Political Economy* (1865) by Professor A. L. Perry, of Williams College, which ran through many editions, and *The Science of Wealth; a Manual of Political Economy* (1866) by Professor Amasa Walker, of Amherst. Less important were E. Lawton's *Lectures on Science, Politics, Morals, and Society* (1862) and President J. T. Champlin's *Lessons on Political Economy* (1868).

All of these were cast into the shade by the one American author who soon acquired an international reputation. Henry C. Carey (1793–1879), the son of Mathew Carey, was well in the forties before he commenced to write. Beginning in 1835 with his *Essay on the Rate of Wages* he published in rapid succession a flood of pamphlets as well as a series of volumes. Chief among the latter are the *Principles of Political Economy* (3 vols., 1837–40); *The Past, the Present, the Future* (1848); *The Harmony of Interests* (1850); *The Slave Trade* (1853); *Principles of Social Science* (3 vols., 1858–59); and *The Unity of Law* (1872). Carey started out as a free trader, but soon became an ardent protectionist and took issue at almost every point with the doctrines of the classical school. He opposed Adam Smith on the theory of productive labour; he objected to the Ricardian theories of rent and wages; he criticized the Malthusian theory of population; he laid stress on his own law of value and utility; and he elaborated, on original but none the less insecure foundations, a whole structure of economic thought. At a time when the field was occupied by the American imitators of British classical political economy and by the widely read translations of Bastiat, the French free trader, Carey heartened all those both at home and abroad who were seeking some economic basis for the newer nationalism with its policy of protection. Great as was the influence that he exercised at the time, later generations have found but little of enduring value in his contributions to economic science; and toward the end of his career he weakened his influence by espousing the inflationist currency

arguments. At the time, however, Carey formed a school which counted among its adherents thinkers like Dühring in Germany and Ferrara in Italy, and which included at home three Pennsylvania publicists: William Elder, who wrote *Questions of the Day, Economic and Social* (1871); E. Peshine Smith, *A Manual of Political Economy* (1853); and Robert Ellis Thompson, *Social Science and National Economy* (1875) as well as several other works on protection. Belonging in part to the same school is Stephen Colwell's *A Preliminary Essay to the Translation of List's National System of Political Economy* (1856), with a good historical sketch of the science in which he declared his variance at some points from Carey. Colwell also wrote *Ways and Means of Payment: a Full Analysis of the Credit System* (1859).

Side by side with this development of the general theory of economics, there proceeded, as mentioned above, a heated discussion on practical economic problems. Most of this pamphlet literature, interesting as showing the current of popular thought, was of only temporary interest and must be passed over in this brief sketch. A few books are deserving of mention. In the workingman's movement which developed in the third decade in New York, three authors exerted more than a passing influence. L. Byllesby's *Observations on the Source and Effects of Unequal Wealth* (1826) and Thomas Skidmore's *The Rights of Man to Property* (1829) furnished the basis for the new and short-lived socialist movement. Frances Wright, the eloquent and attractive apostle of freedom for women and negroes, exerted a great influence by her *Course of Popular Lectures* (1829) and by *The New Harmony Gazette* (1825–35) which she edited in co-operation with Robert Dale Owen, a son of Robert Owen. Interesting discussions of the principles of the labour movement are found in *The Journeyman Mechanic's Advocate* (1827), which has the distinction of being the first labour paper in the world; *The Mechanics' Free Press* (from 1828–1831); and *The Workingmen's Advocate*, edited by G. H. Evans (1829–36).

For the next few years the interest in the question was maintained by William Maclure's *Opinions on Various Subjects Dedicated to the Industrious Producers* (1821), Stephen Simpson's *Workingman's Manual, a New Theory of Political Economy* (1831), and Seth Luther's *An Address to the Workingmen of New England* (1833), as well as by the labour periodicals

of which the most important were *The Man* (1834–35), *The National Labourer* (1836–7), Thomas Brothers's *The Radical Reformer* (1836), and Ely Moore's *The National Trades-Union* (1836–37).

The labour movement was succeeded in the forties by a wave of Fourierism and Associationism. The chief advocate of this was Albert Brisbane, with his *Social Destiny of Man* (1840), *Association* (1843), various translations of Fourier, and *The Phalanx; or Journal of Social Science* (1843–5). He was followed by Parke Godwin in his *Popular View of the Doctrines of Fourier* (1844) and by Horace Greeley in *Association Discussed* (1847). Greeley, who for a time opened the influential columns of the *Tribune* to this movement, showed his interest in the general subject by writing an introduction to Atkinson's *Principles of Political Economy* (1843). He soon became more interested in the problems of protection and free land, editing, in 1843, *The American Laborer* and publishing toward the end of his career the *Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy* (1869), devoted to the same topics.

The interest in the Communist movement was carried on in *The Harbinger* (1845–47), of the Brook Farm phalanx; J. M. Horner's *The Herald of the New-Found World* (1841-42); *The Communitist* (1844); and J. A. Collins's *The Social Pioneer* (1844). The general theories of the labour movement are reflected in Robert McFarlane's *Mechanics' Mirror* (1846). This period is also marked by the advent of three original thinkers who emphasized individualism to the very extreme of anarchism: Josiah Warren in *Equitable Commerce* (1846) and *True Civilization* (1846); Stephen Pearl Andrews in *The True Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual* (1851) and *Cost the Limit of Price* (1851); and Lysander Spooner in *Poverty: Its Alleged Causes and Legal Cure* (1846). Less important were J. Pickering's *The Workingman's Political Economy* (1847), J. Campbell's *A Theory of Equality* (1848), and E. Kellogg's *Labor and Other Capital* (1849). The next decade, with its period of prosperity, is marked by only two noteworthy books: Adin Ballou's *Practical Christian Socialism* (1854) and H. Hughes's *Treatise on Sociology* (1854).

With the end of the Civil War the falling prices brought a renewed interest in the labour question. The two national peri-

odicals were Fincher's *Trades Review* (Philadelphia) and the *Workingmen's Advocate* (Chicago). The philosophy of the labour agitation was expounded by Ira Steward in *The Eight Hour Movement* (1865) and *Poverty* (1873); by William Dealtry in *The Laborer* (1869); and by E. H. Haywood in *Yours and Mine* (1869); while the Communist movement was best represented by Alexander Longley in *The Communist* (1868–79). During the early seventies there are to be noted H. B. Wright's *Practical Treatise on Labor* (1871), W. Brown's *The Labor Question* (1872), W. B. Greene's *Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments* (1875), and L. Masquerier's *Sociology or The Reconstruction of Society* (1877).

The tariff controversies elicited but few works of importance. In the earlier period, in the contest centring around the Bill of Abominations of 1828 and its immediate successors, we have to note, in addition to the works of Lee and Gallatin referred to above, T. R. Dew's *Lectures on the Restrictive System* (1829) and Hezekiah Niles's *Journal of the Meeting of the Friends of Domestic Industry* (1813)). Perhaps the most outstanding figure of this period was Condy Raguet, author of *The Principles of Free Trade* (1835) and *The Examiner and Journal of Political Economy* (1834–35). In the later period, immediately after the Civil War, we need mention only W. M. Grosvenor's *Does Protection Protect?* (1871) and the numerous publications of E. B. Bigelow.

Much the same may be said about the controversies on the currency, which produced only a few works of more than passing interest. Worthy of mention are E. Lord's *Principles of Currency* (1829), W. M. Gouge's *A Short History of Paper Money and Banking* (1833) and *The Fiscal History of Texas* (1852), W. Beck's *Money and Banking* (1839), R. Hildreth's *Banks, Banking, and Paper Currencies* (1840), and Dunscombe's *Free Banking* (1841). In the later period we may call attention to J. A. Ferris's *The Financial Economy of the United States* (1867).

This period is also marked by a more systematic study of statistics as evidenced by A. Russell's *Principles of Statistical Inquiry* (1839), Professor G. Tucker's *Progress of the United States* (1843), and J. D. B. De Bow's *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States.* In 1839, moreover, was founded the American Statistical Association, whose first sec-

retary, J. B. Felt, published a variety of historical and statistical works on population and finance; while the subject of vital statistics was cultivated especially by L. Shattuck and by Dr. Edward Jarvis, for thirty-one years the president of the Association.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a marked change in economic conditions. The two fundamental facts were the industrial transition with the advent of modern capitalism, which completely transformed the East and which was fast spreading inland; and, on the other hand, the gradual disappearance of the free lands in the West. These facts were responsible for the emergence of the labour problem in its modern setting. Moreover, the rapid growth of the railway system brought that subject to the front, and the fall in prices coupled with the growing pressure of taxation attracted attention to the silver problem and the general fiscal situation. In short, the United States now reached its own as a more or less fully developed modern economic community and was confronted by a multiplicity of difficult economic questions. The great strike of 1877 sounded the first note of the newer and modern campaign. Almost simultaneously a number of young and enthusiastic scholars went abroad to seek on the Continent an economic training which could not be obtained at home. It was these younger men who on their return at the end of the seventies and in the early eighties founded the modern scientific study of economics in the United States. Before speaking of them, it may be well to mention a few of the more distinguished representatives of the older school who had grown up amid the former conditions.

David A. Wells (1848–98) was a chemist who had sprung into prominence by a pamphlet *Our Burden and Our Strength* (1864), which contributed not a little to increase the confidence of the North in ultimate victory. He now addressed himself to fiscal problems and became the special commissioner on internal revenue. Having been converted from protectionism to free trade, he issued in rapid succession a number of important books. Among these we may mention, in addition to his official reports, *The Relation of the Government to the Telegraph* (1873), *Robinson Crusoe's Money* (1876), *Practical Economics* (1885), *Recent Economic Changes* (1890), and *The*

Theory and Practice of Taxation (1900). Wells had a remarkable faculty for marshalling economic facts and exerted a great influence on public opinion and legislation. But he was far stronger in explaining facts than in elucidating economic principles, and his extreme advocacy of individualism and free trade, together with a lack of acquaintance with the history of economic literature, conspired to limit his influence within narrow circles. Much the same may be said of Edward Atkinson (1827–1905), whose chief contributions were a *Report on the Cotton Manufacture* (1863), *Revenue Reform* (1871), *The Distribution of Products* (1885), *The Margin of Profits* (1887), and *The Industrial Progress of the Nation* (1890), together with innumerable pamphlets. Belonging to the same group was Horace White, who specialized on the currency problem in *The Silver Question* (1876) and *Money and Banking* (1895), as well as J. Schoenhof, who wrote *The Destructive Influence of the Tariff* (1883), *A History of Money and Prices* (1885), and *The Economy of High Wages* (1893). Somewhat more academic were Professor W. G. Sumner (1840–1910), with his *Lectures on the History of Protection* (1877), *A History of American Currency* (1878), *Problems in Political Economy* (1885), and *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883), and Professor C. F. Dunbar (1830–1900) with his *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking* (1891) and *Economic Essays* (1904). A more original mind was the astronomer Simon Newcomb (1835–1919), who after devoting some attention to financial policy made his chief contribution in *Principles of Political Economy* (1886). Worthy of mention as writers on money are S. Dana Horton, *Silver and Gold* (1876), *The Monetary Situation* (1878), *The Silver Pound* (1887); John J. Knox, *United States Notes* (1884); A. Del Mar, *A History of the Precious Metals* (1880) and *Money and Civilization* (1886); and C. A. Conant, *A History of Modern Banks of Issue* (1886) and *The Principles of Money and Banking* (1905).

Far and away the most prominent figure of the period was Francis A. Walker (1840–97), who was the first lecturer on economics at Johns Hopkins in 1876. Although not acquainted with much of the newer Continental literature in economics, General Walker possessed a powerful intellect and was so hospitable to the newer ideas that he lent his weighty support to the efforts of the younger men to put economic study on a

scientific basis. He became the first president of the American Economic Association. His chief works, each marked by vigour and independence of thought, are *The Wages Question* (1876), *Money* (1878), *Land and its Rent* (1881), *Political Economy* (1883), *International Bimetallism* (1896), and *Discussions in Economics and Statistics* (1899). Walker helped to give the *coup de grâce* to the wages fund doctrine, and his theory of distribution has come to be known as the residual theory. Not only did he exert a great influence on economic thought but his contributions to statistics as Superintendent of the Ninth and Tenth Census were scarcely less pronounced.

Another important milestone in the progress of economic science is marked by Henry George (1839–97). George, living in California at a time when everything seemed to point to the rapid growth of bonanza farms, came to the conclusion that the solution of the modern social problem lay in the nationalization of land, through the medium of the single tax. Beginning with *Our Land and Land Policy* (1871), he elaborated his general theory in *Progress and Poverty* (1879), which ran through countless editions. The same ideas with further applications were repeated in *Social Problems* (1884), *Protection or Free Trade* (1891), *A Perplexed Philosopher* (1892), and *The Science of Political Economy* (1898). In all other respects an extreme individualist, Henry George carried to its logical extreme John Stuart Mill's theory of the unearned increment. One-sided as his doctrine has come to be considered, he contributed two important points to the progress of economic thought in the United States. The one was his theory of privilege—even though he was extreme in limiting this to land; the other was the theory that wages are fixed by the product of rentless land, which started the thinking of Professor Clark.

The real beginning of the modern science of economics is to be found in that group of younger men, all of them, with one exception, still living, who founded at Saratoga in 1883 the American Economic Association. This has now become one of the most influential scientific organizations in the country. The underlying principles of this group of younger thinkers, almost all of whom had studied in Germany, appeared in 1886 in a volume entitled *Science of Economic Discussion*. The most eminent of the group is John Bates Clark (1847–), whose

chief contributions are found in the *Philosophy of Wealth* (1886), *The Distribution of Wealth* (1899), *The Control of Trusts* (1901), and *Essentials of Economic Theory* (1907). Professor Clark worked out independently the marginal utility theory of value as expounded by Jevons, Menger, and Walras, and is to be noted for the elaboration of the doctrine of specific productivity as applied to the shares of distribution. This doctrine, in connection with his theory of capital and his distinction between static and dynamic economics, has shed a flood of light on the recesses of economic life and has been the starting point of much modern discussion. Henry C. Adams (1851–) published in 1886 his *Outline of Lectures upon Political Economy* as well as *A Study of the Principles that Should Control the Interference of the State in Industries*, in which issue was squarely taken with the philosophy of *laissez-faire*. Later his *Public Debts* (1887) and the *Science of Finance* (1898) proved to be the pioneer American works in those fields. Richmond Mayo-Smith (1854–1901) chose the field of statistics, which he treated from the modern and comparative point of view in *Statistics and Economics* (1888) and *Statistics and Sociology* (1895), as he was also the first to make a scientific study of the immigrant problem in *Emigration and Immigration* (1890). Richard T. Ely (1854–), the first secretary of the American Economic Association, did perhaps more than any of the others in breaking into new fields and in popularizing the modern concepts of economics. Among his contributions may be mentioned *French and German Socialism* (1883), *Taxation in American States and Cities* (1888), *Monopolies and Trusts* (1900), *Outlines of Economics* (1893), *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society* (1903), and *Property and Contract* (1914). Simon N. Patten (1852–), in many ways the most original thinker of the group, made a series of notable contributions in *The Premises of Political Economy* (1885), *The Economic Basis of Protection* (1886), *The Development of English Thought* (1889), *The Theory of Prosperity* (1902), and *The New Basis of Civilization* (1907). President A. T. Hadley (1856–)won his spurs by a scientific study of the railroad problem in *Railroad Transportation* (1885), and followed this by an attempt to sum up in one volume the present state of modern thought in *Economics* (1896). F. W. Taussig (1859–) started with *Protection to Young Industries* (1883) and followed

this with *The Silver Situation* (1893), *Wages and Capital* (1896), *The Principles of Economics* (1911), *Investors and Money Makers* (1915), and a series of collected essays on the tariff problem. The author of the present sketch (1861–) is responsible for *Railway Tariffs* (1887), *Progressive Taxation* (1892), *The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation* (1894), *Essays in Taxation* (1895), *The Economic Interpretation of History* (1902), *The Principles of Economics* (1905), and *The Income Tax* (1911). Among the economists who studied abroad but who have since died may be mentioned President E. B. Andrews of Brown (1844–1917), a student of Helfferich, best known by his *Institutes of Economics* (1889), and J. C. Schwab (1865–1916) of Yale, a student of Gustav Cohn, whose chief contribution was *A Financial and Industrial History of the South during the Civil War* (1901).

From the advent of this group of writers may be marked the rapid progress of economic thought in the United States. Beginning in the early eighties the chairs of political economy multiplied, and an opportunity was given to our university students for advanced study of economics at home. With the beginning of the present century the output of scientific literature in economics multiplied rapidly, with the result that the United States counts today a body of economic thinkers superior in numbers and not inferior in quality to those of any other country, who are devoting themselves with conspicuous success and from many different points of view to the elucidation of the complex principles that underlie modern economic life.

CHAPTER XXV

Scholars

THERE seem to be three external modes conditioning the production of our scholarly literature. Until the Revolution, it was produced by scattered individuals. Thereafter literary coteries and learned societies supervened upon individual production, which continued, but with a more definite tone and focus. Finally, with the nineteenth century in its second quarter, the universities supervened upon the other two modes, and were added to them, as stimulus and audience, outlet and patron. Then all three modes continued together, and were compounded. Speaking generally and tentatively, the individualism of the first mode may be called British; the urbane social tone of the second, French; the organized institutionalism of the third, German.

With the exception of a monstrous accretion like the learning of Cotton Mather,[1] a leviathan of the seventeenth-century type, such learning as the eighteenth century could muster in this country was on the one hand rather elegant than professedly scholarly, for a gentleman must not be too much of a specialist; and on the other hand, distinctly didactic, for a cultivated citizen of a new country must endeavour to teach and improve its uncultivated masses. What the eighteenth century offers is a clerical and gentlemanly cultivation of Hebrew and the classics, a missionary concern with the languages of the American Indians, a somewhat schoolmasterly interest in English grammar and lexicography, and an elegant trifling with the modern and the Oriental languages. Ezekiel Cheever's *Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue . . . being Accidence Abridged* was published in 1709. A mock-heroic Latin poem, *Muscipula:*

[1] See Book I, Chap. III.

The Mousetrap, by Edward Holdsworth, translated into English by Richard Lewis, was published at Annapolis in 1728; and the next year Samuel Keimer printed at Philadelphia a translation of the *Morals* of Epictetus in a "second edition," possibly after a first edition published in Europe. William Logan, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, William Penn's friend, business agent, and deputy governor, collected books, founded in 1745 the Loganian Library,[1] conducted an extensive correspondence with scholars, and published Latin treatises and translations. His translation of Dionysius Cato's *Moral Distichs* (1735) and of Cicero's *Cato Major* (1744) were both of them printed by Benjamin Franklin. Another public man, James Otis,[2] found leisure to publish at Boston in 1760 the *Rudiments of Latin Prosody*, which is said to have been used as a text book at Harvard. Samuel Sewall the younger (grandnephew of Judge Sewall), who in 1762 was librarian and instructor in Hebrew at Harvard, published a Hebrew grammar (1763), a Latin version of the first book of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1780), as well as several poems and orations in Greek and Latin. "A native of America," namely John Park,[3] lieutenant-colonel in the army of General Washington, dedicated to his chief the *Lyrick Works of Horace translated into English Verse* (Philadelphia, 1786). In 1804 Sallust's complete works—an edition based upon Crispinus's Delphin—appeared in Philadelphia, and in 1805, at Salem, Sallust's history of the Catilinarian and Jugurthine wars—the latter "the first edition of an ancient classic ever published in the United States, which was not a professed reimpression of some former and foreign edition."[4] The omniscient Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill,[5] when he was United States Senator from New York, had a song on war "in the Osage tongue" and two Cherokee songs of friendship, which were sung at his house in Washington, translated into French "by an interpreter and rendered into English immediately, January 1, 1806."[6] From the Latin Mitchill also translated into sober English verse the third and the

[1] Annexed in 1792 to the library of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
[2] See Book I, Chap. VIII.
[3] Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship*, III, 451.
[4] J. S. Buckminster, *Monthly Anthology*, II, 549 (1805).
[5] See Book II, Chap. III.
[6] American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, I, 313 (1820).

fifth of Sannazaro's *Piscatory Eclogues* (1815); and, from the Italian, Lancisi *On the Fens and Marshes of Rome.* Not only Lindley Murray's *Grammar* (1795), and Noah Webster's *Compendious Dictionary* (1806) and *Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language* (1807), but also Webster's great *Dictionary* of 1828, though it represents twenty years of additional work and even some study abroad, belong essentially to this epoch of individual production.[1] Joel Barlow translated Volney's *Ruins.* Richard Alsop, one of the Hartford Wits, made translations from the French and the Italian. In *The Monthly Anthology* in 1805 was reprinted Sir William Jones's translation of *Sacontalà . . . from the Sanscrit of Calidas.*

Thus the utilitarian and the dilettante production went sporadically on, continuing, as has been indicated, long after the new forces had begun to work. The signs of these were not wanting. During and shortly after the Revolution American learning became self-conscious, and took account of itself. In 1794 Mitchill, then professor of chemistry and botany in Columbia College, made a report to the Senatus Academicus on "the present state of learning in the College of New York" (*i. e.* Columbia College); and Ezra Stiles, in his Latin Inaugural Oration upon his induction as president of Yale in 1778, offered a prospectus of much the same kind, which is notable as showing the relative values that a highly estimable scholar then attached to the various disciplines. Stiles would have his ideal pupil study the vernacular with a view to rendering materials from other languages available in it, and for practice in writing and public speaking. Latin and Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic he is also to study; but arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, logic, and rhetoric are mentioned only to be dismissed as *leviora studia.* Let the youth pass onward to the higher mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy. Astronomy will lead him to the heavenly hierarchy, this to metaphysics and ontology, and thence to ethics and moral philosophy—the latter chiefly mystical and concerned with the Divine Love. He is to study human history too; and at odd times (*subsecivis horis*), music, poetry, drama, and polite and belles lettres. The programme is closed with the professional

[1] For early school books see Book III, Chap. XXIII.

studies: medicine; theology, which Stiles analyzes in some detail as doctrinal, historical, etc.; and law, for which he lays out a course in considerable detail. Notable especially are the slighting mention and the small space (only a little more than four pages out of his forty) and with which Stiles dismisses the humanistic studies.[1]

The time, ripe for change, soon began to feel new tendencies away from English and toward Continental culture. As early as 1778, the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire was encouraged by John Page, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, to establish at Richmond a French Academy of the Arts and Sciences, and by 1786 he had obtained from a number of prominent Virginians and Baltimoreans a subscription amounting to sixty thousand francs. Quesnay had in mind the highest special training of American students in the arts and sciences; he planned "solely for the completion of the education of young men after they have graduated from college."[2] Among the supporters of this proposal for the first graduate school in America was Thomas Jefferson, then resident in Paris; it is contemporaneous with his own plan (1779) to develop William and Mary College into a true university by modernizing its curriculum. The Academy proposed to institute "schools" in foreign languages, design, architecture, painting, sculpture, and engraving, as well as in the natural sciences; similarly, of the eight professorships proposed by Jefferson for the expanded William and Mary College, four were distinctly humanistic.

Quesnay's plan for the Academy fell through because the French Revolution withdrew from it his country's attention and support; Jefferson's plan for the extension of William and Mary developed at length into his foundation of the University of Virginia; and the curriculums proposed for these earlier schools became the basis of the genuinely humanistic curriculum and the advanced university organization of that institution. Moreover, the organization by "schools" or subjects instead of by college classes is believed by historians of education to have suggested to George Ticknor the idea of the departmental and

[1] Stiles's *Literary Diary* and *Itineraries* are an unworked mine of material upon the state of learning in the eighteenth century.

[2] See Benjamin Rush's scheme of a national university (1788), *American Museum*, IV, 442 ff. (so G. W. Spindler, *Karl Follen*, 94 and note).

of the elective system, so far as he was able to introduce them at Harvard.

Meanwhile there had arrived in this country several other bearers of influence from Latin countries. Peter Stephen DuPonceau (1760–1844) at the house of Beaumarchais in Paris met Baron Steuben, and came to America with him as secretary and aide de camp. Arriving in 1777, he received a captaincy in the American army and served until 1780, when bad health obliged him to give up active campaigning. For a while he was secretary to Robert Livingston, then in charge of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and after studying law he was in June, 1785, admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania, where he had become a citizen. He rose to such eminence in his profession that he afterwards declined Jefferson's offer to appoint him Chief Justice of Louisiana and was able to retire early in life and devote himself to linguistics. From 1791 he was a member of the American Philosophical Society, to whose interests he gave much time and energy, and to which he communicated his papers, for example, his *English Phonology* (1817) and his report on *The Structure of the Indian Languages* (1819). His memoir on *The Indian Languages of North America* brought him the Volney prize awarded for linguistics by the Academy of Inscriptions of the French Institute. DuPonceau is notable also for his broad conception of the future of American literature, which he wished to emancipate from provincialism by bringing it into the great Continental European tradition. His discourse *On the Necessity and Means of Making our National Literature Independent of That of Great Britain* (1834) is one of the earliest American documents to exhibit a comparative study of literature.

Closely associated with DuPonceau both by personal friendship and by the broad humanism of his work was John Pickering (1777–1846), a son of the more celebrated Timothy Pickering. In Salem and in Boston John Pickering continued his literary studies, becoming by 1806 "an adept in the Hebrew and probably in one or two Semitic tongues beside," but declining an appointment as Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages at Harvard. He likewise declined (1814) the newly established Eliot Professorship of Greek Literature, of which Edward Everett

thereupon became the first incumbent. Pickering's *Greek and English Lexicon* (1826)—a translation of Schrevelius projected and partly executed in 1814—just misses being the earliest of all the Greek-English lexicons. Acquainted with Oriental languages, including Chinese and a number of African and Pacific dialects, Pickering was one of the founders and was the first president of the American Oriental Society. He was deeply versed as well in the American Indian languages, and his treatise *On the Adoption of a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America* (*Memoirs of the American Academy*) excited much interest abroad. He lectured to popular audiences upon Champollion's discoveries concerning the hieroglyphic language of Egypt. Today he is best remembered by his work on Americanisms, as presented to the American Academy in 1815 and published the next year in enlarged form—an invaluable record of American speech in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Another of the notable transmitters of Latin culture was Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749–1838), a genuine celebrity, and, as the librettist of Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Cosi Fan Tutte*, one of the lesser immortals. A converted Jew, he was educated and he taught in a church seminary, and actually became an Abate. He mingled freely in the gay and the learned society of Venice, carrying on numerous love intrigues and supporting himself by private teaching. One of his sonnets having given offence, in 1777 he left Italy to wander over Europe. At Dresden he made translations and redactions of plays for the Electoral Theatre; thence he removed to Vienna, where he became acquainted with Mozart, and wrote the libretti for *Figaro* (1786) and *Don Giovanni* (1787), produced with brilliant success. Driven away by court intrigues Da Ponte in 1793 went with his young English wife to London, and there made his headquarters for some twelve years, writing for the Italian theatre, touring the Continent to engage singers, opening an Italian book shop, and always more or less retreating from his creditors, from whom, indeed, he retreated to Philadelphia in 1805. Again he moved about erratically, but he settled finally in New York in 1819, gave Italian lessons (Fitz-Greene Halleck was one of his pupils), again opened a book

shop,and helped in 1825 to bring over Garcia's troupe, which introduced Italian opera to New York. His own *Don Giovanni* was performed with great éclat. He published several volumes of Italian verse, gave lectures and conversazioni upon Italian literature; read and expounded Alfieri, Metastasio, Tasso, and Dante to his pupils, and in 1825 published in *The New York Review* interpretative notes upon several passages of the *Inferno*. This was the first time Dante had been taught or commented upon in America; Ticknor's classes in Dante did not begin until 1831. In 1829, upon Da Ponte's offer to give instruction in Italian gratis at Columbia College, he was named professor—*inane munus*, for he had neither salary nor fees nor pupils. Two months before his death in 1838 he wrote in a piteous letter to a friend in Paris; "The author of thirty-six dramas; the poet of Joseph II, of Salieri, of Martini, and of Mozart; after having given to America the Italian language, literature, and music; after having taught about three thousand pupils, imported thirty thousand volumes of precious treasures; established libraries, public and private; formed professors; given to the college three hundred volumes of classic verse; having finally reached the age of eighty-nine years, and lavished away all he had in the world; now remains deserted, neglected, and forgotten, as if his voice had never been heard, or as if he were a fugitive escaped from the galleys."

Da Ponte's fatal facility in verse—for he was an improvisatore of the old stripe—of course prevented his ever becoming a poet, yet the writer of *Batti batti* and of *La ci darem la mano* ought surely not be forgotten. His *Memoirs*, published in New York in 1823, also belong in the great Venetian eighteenth-century tradition with those of Goldoni and Carlo Gozzi, and bring back the merry time of *ridotti* and *cicisbei*, of *petits abbés*, theatrical cliques and claques, and wandering adventurers. How this echo of the days of Cagliostro and Casti and Casanova happened to be first heard in the New York of 1823 is one of the curiosities of literature. That American scholarship owes Da Ponte no great debt is not his fault. The time and the ground were not prepared for him. He is significant rather as the most brilliant of the group which transmitted to America the traditions of an urbane—a humane—Latin culture.

After 1815 the stream of Romanic culture seems not to have

received new affluents; as it had been headed toward America by the political disturbances of the American and the French Revolutions, so, apparently, it ceased with the Revolutionary period, though Du Ponceau and Pickering continued to produce works of genuine scholarship, and the initial impulse imparted by Jefferson's French ideas reached a ripe issue in the opening of the University of Virginia in 1825.

German scholarship did not come to these shores until after Americans had gone abroad to get it. The German immigration to New York and Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century brought few scholars. It was not until 1824 that the pioneers of the riper German culture, Karl Beck (1798–1866) and Karl Follen (1785–1840), arrived, at a time when Everett, Ticknor, Cogswell, and Bancroft had all returned from their studies in Germany. Follen and Beck, like Pietro Bachi, who came a year later, emigrated in consequence of the disturbances that attended the end of the Napoleonic régime. Follen had taken part in the war of liberation and had been one of the founders of the Burschenschaften. Charged with complicity in the assassination of Kotzebue, he made his escape to Switzerland, and then to Paris. There he fell in with his friend Karl Beck, likewise a refugee, and the two together came to America. Upon the recommendation of Ticknor, Beck was appointed teacher of Latin and gymnastics in the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts. In 1832 he became professor of Latin at Harvard, where he remained until his death in 1866. Upon Ticknor's recommendation, too, Follen was appointed instructor in German at Harvard—the first to teach that subject there. He soon became a citizen, was highly esteemed among the Boston liberals, was a friend of W. E. Channing and of James Freeman Clarke, and himself entered the Unitarian ministry. In 1830 he was advanced to a full professorship of the German Language and Literature, which, however, was endowed for a period of five years only. He published a German reader (1826) and a German grammar (1828). His loss of his Harvard position is thought to have been due to his anti-slavery propaganda; and thenceforth he threw himself still more enthusiastically into speechmaking and preaching.

With the return of Edward Everett (1794–1865), George Ticknor (1791–1871), Joseph Green Cogswell (1786–1871), and

George Bancroft[1] from Germany, the German influence in American scholarship becomes palpable. Bancroft and Cogswell established the Round Hill School, which in some ways was modelled upon the German *gymnasium*, and which sent out many boys who afterwards became distinguished. Bancroft left it in 1829. Cogswell, who remained till 1834, was a rolling stone and did not really find himself until past fifty. In New York in 1838 he became acquainted with John Jacob Astor, and led him to establish the Astor Library, of which, after Astor's death in 1848, Cogswell was appointed superintendent. His only important literary monument is the Astor Library Catalogue (1857–66).

Everett, after his election to the Eliot Professorship of Greek Literature at Harvard, had gone abroad in 1815 and had achieved the doctorate at Göttingen in 1817. Thereafter he went alone on the Greek tour which for a while Cogswell and Ticknor had been planning to take with him, and became acquainted with Adamantios Koraës just before the outbreak of the Greek war for independence. Returning in 1820 full of enthusiasm for learning and for Greece, he gave lectures which must have been inspiring, else Emerson would not have praised him so highly.[2] But "what avails thorough preparation of the college teacher, if his pupils are unprepared? We need to reform our secondary schools," Everett had written from Göttingen; and the want of adequate preparation on the part of his pupils may help explain why he left no school. Moreover, he soon resigned his professorship and his editorship of *The North American Review*, to enter public life; and though he was afterward president of Harvard College, he is known no more as an American scholar. His writings show him rather in the attitude of a Roman orator, draped in a toga which to modern taste seems less *virilis* than *prætexta*.[3]

Of the Göttingen group there remains that one who was on the whole the soundest scholar, and who in time became the first American scholar to achieve a permanent international reputation. George Ticknor was born in Boston in 1791, of parents who were both teachers. Having graduated from Dart-

[1] See Book II, Chap. XVII.
[2] *Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England.*
[3] See also Book II, Chap. XV.

mouth in 1807, he read Greek and Latin authors for three years with the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, a pupil of Samuel Parr. From 1810 Ticknor read law and in 1813 was admitted to the bar, but he gave up practice in a year. The country, he thought, "would never be without good lawyers," but would urgently need "scholars, teachers, and men of letters." From Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) Ticknor had got an intimation of the intellectual mastery of the Germans; he elected therefore to study in Germany, and particularly at Göttingen. Through the summer and autumn of 1814 he worked hard at German, borrowing a grammar from Edward Everett, sending to New Hampshire, where he "knew there was a German dictionary," and translating *Werther* from John Quincy Adams's copy, stored at the Athenæum.

Before going abroad, though, he must make the American grand tour to Washington and Virginia. During the winter of 1814–15 he travelled by slow stages and sometimes under difficulties as far as Richmond, everywhere supplied with introductions to and from eminent persons such as John Adams, President Madison, and Thomas Jefferson. He met, among others, Eli Whitney, Robert Lenox, John Randolph, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton; attended the Hartford Convention; saw the ruins of Washington, then recently burned by the British; and at Monticello got the news of their defeat at New Orleans. Already he was exhibiting the social gifts which later distinguished him—a power of holding substantial conversation when that was in order; a tact that kept him wisely and quizzically silent during an outburst of bad temper on the part of Adams, and in the presence of Jefferson's philosophical oddities; together with a cool sub-acid judgment in estimating and reporting such phenomena as these and the ways of men in general. He made an especially favourable impression upon Jefferson, who twice—in 1818 and again in 1820—invited him to a chair at the University of Virginia.

In April, 1815, Ticknor sailed for Liverpool with Edward Everett and several other friends. At Liverpool and on the way to London he paid his respects to Roscoe and to Dr. Parr. In London he met Hallam, and various lesser scholars. At Göttingen Ticknor settled down to a monastic regimen of study, specializing in Greek. He met the Homeric Wolf, "coryphæus

of German philologists," then on a visit to Göttingen; and, during an eight weeks' holiday trip across Germany, Gesenius and Goethe. For a full year he continued his classical studies without any notion that his field was to lie elsewhere. From Byron in London he had got hints for a tour in Greece, and he was preparing to make it, when late in 1816 Harvard offered him the College Professorship of the Belles Lettres and the Smith Professorship of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures, then just established upon the death of its founder Abiel Smith. Accordingly Ticknor gave up his Greek tour, and after a few months in Göttingen began in the spring of 1817 an extensive course of travel and study in the Latin countries. In Paris he worked with great diligence at French and Italian. In Rome by November he studied Italian and archæology. Leaving Rome late in March of 1818, he made his way slowly to Spain via Italy and southern France. In Madrid he at once settled into his habitual studious ways. During the summer and autumn of 1818 he made several excursions and a considerable journey in Spain and Portugal; whence in November he went via England to Paris again. Here he privately studied Spanish literature, Portuguese, and Provençal. In London in January, 1819, he dropped study for awhile, and was taken up by the great Whigs—Lord Holland, Sir James Mackintosh, Richard Heber, Hookham Frere, Lord John Russell, and Sydney Smith. He visited the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House and the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey; again touched classical studies in a sojourn at Cambridge; and before February reached Edinburgh. Picking out, as was usual with him, a specialist to help him in his studies, he read Scotch poetry. Here he frequented the Tory circle of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, and made the acquaintance of Scott, whom he visited at Abbotsford for a few days; proceeding thence to Southey at Keswick and to Wordsworth at Rydal Mount. At Hatton he saw old Dr. Parr once more, who condemned everything contemporary but gave Ticknor his blessing.

In London again, early in April, Ticknor went with Irving to the "damning of a play" and afterwards to the Lord Mayor's ball, which he also damns in a series of contemptuous remarks about the "City crowd." Though he had already disparaged Godwin as the "notorious William Godwin," he dined at his

house; and then proceeded to disparage him further, together with the company he met there, including Hazlitt, Hunt, and Lamb. Ticknor was as much at home with the "big Whigs" as with the grand Tories, especially the great Tory of Abbotsford; *Whig Toriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, he might have said; but he could not abide a Philistine or a Bohemian.

At the end of April, 1819, after a brief visit to Roscoe in Liverpool, he sailed for home, and reached Boston early in June, with an equipment far beyond that of any previous American student. His teaching at Harvard began in the same year and continued until he resigned in 1835. Like Everett's, it was so far in advance of his time and of the training his students brought to it that he founded no school of research and made no disciples in advanced scholarship. But he greatly improved elementary instruction in the modern languages, and could find sometimes (as in 1831) a class that would read Dante with him; he established for his own subjects a departmental system, with considerable freedom of election, and with promotion and grouping according to proficiency; and he went as far as the college authorities would allow in establishing an elective system within his own jurisdiction. These reforms being opposed, actively by some other members of the faculty, passively by President Kirkland, Ticknor felt, after sixteen years of service, that he had done all the missionary work that could reasonably be expected of him. He resigned his professorship, and made a second sojourn in Europe (1835–38), Longfellow having been chosen to be his successor.

This second residence in Europe Ticknor undertook not primarily as a student but as a ripe scholar; and although he had as yet produced no great work, he was everywhere received as one whose standing was assured. The acquaintances he formed or renewed are too numerous to be even catalogued in full. In England he saw a good deal of the scientific men. At Dresden he examined Ludwig Tieck's collection of Spanish books, and he joined the scholarly circle of Prince John of Saxony. In Berlin in the spring of 1836 Ticknor visited the church historian Neander, and saw Alexander von Humboldt frequently. In Vienna, in June, he examined the old Spanish books in the Imperial Library. After a summer in Switzerland and southern Germany, he moved towards Rome, which he reached in

December, and in which he remained until May of 1837. He went north for the summer again, to Venice, Innsbruck, and Heidelberg, and to Paris for the winter, where he looked over the Spanish library of Ternaux-Compans and frequented the study of Augustin Thierry. By March, 1838, Ticknor was in England again, having long talks with Hallam. He once more visited Southey and Wordsworth at Keswick; was disappointed in the Spanish collection at the Bodleian; met at breakfast "a Mr. Ruskin," who had a most beautiful collection "of sketches, made by himself, from nature, on the Continent"; and heard Carlyle lecture.

Arriving at home in June, 1838, Ticknor settled down to research, to extensive correspondence with many friends, both European and American, to the collecting of Spanish books, and to the writing of his *History of Spanish Literature*, which was published in 1849 and was at once recognized as a work of international standing. He found time also to work hard for the Boston Public Library, of which he was a trustee; doing for it what his friends Buckminster and Cogswell had done respectively for the Athenæum and the Astor. Upon the third and last of his European tours, undertaken in 1856–57 for the sake of the library, he had little time for his own studies, but he was lionized—being now the author of a famous book—as never before, and moved in the most brilliant society. At home again from September, 1857, Ticknor took up once more his life of study and business, serving the library until 1866, revising the *History of Spanish Literature* for its third and its fourth editions, maintaining a voluminous correspondence, and, after the death of Prescott in 1859, writing his *Life* (1864). At this time, too, Ticknor resumed his active interest in Harvard. He died in 1871.

Ticknor's life, as recorded in his *Life, Letters and Journals*, is that of a great man of business, a great social talent, almost a *grand seigneur*, who stood before kings, or rather sat down with them,—and who was incidentally a scholar. It is necessary, in an account of his works, to distribute the emphasis in this way, partly because the *Life*, considered as one of them, depends decisively upon his social powers, which elicited characteristic attitudes and utterances from the persons he met, and partly because these powers gave a characteristic turn

even to the *History of Spanish Literature*. The *Life*, a treasury of anecdote and portraiture, which it costs an effort not to quote, would, if well annotated, be found to be also a compendium of European history in its social and literary aspects during the first half of the nineteenth century. The English great houses, the Paris salons, the German courts and scholars, the international social complex at Rome and Florence—Ticknor saw more of these than any other American, and than any but a few of the most highly placed Europeans. His *Life* is, emphatically, good reading, and can only increase in interest with time.

His *History of Spanish Literature* has so impressed critics by its great reputation and by its great conception, scope, and bulk, that they have given it rather praise than appraisal. The claim made by the editors, in their preface to the fourth edition, represents the current opinion of its merits. "So far as the past is concerned, the history of Spanish literature need not be written anew, and the scholars who may hereafter labour in this field of letters will have little else to do than to continue the structure which Mr. Ticknor has reared." Now it is true that Ticknor is strong in his sense of fact, in his feeling for evidence, and in the sanity of his opinions. Very few indeed of his attributions need revision in the light even of the acutest later scholarship. His very comprehensive bibliography, universally praised by his critics, is a second consequence of his strength. He had probably handled and read more Spanish books than had anybody else in his time. His thoroughness extends also to a pretty full use of existing authorities, Spanish, German, French, and English. His combination of their results with those of his own bibliographical research constitutes his title to be considered a pioneer. Still, pioneer work is one thing; definitive work is another. In many fields of Spanish literature it was Ticknor's task actually to find and identify the works he describes. For such work—the primary dealings with raw material—his mind was well fitted. But the later regroupings and higher generalizations of the inductive process, the perception of broad differences, resemblances, connections, and tendencies, the framing of comprehensive concepts, and, in general, the freedom of movement in the conceptual world—these things require a mind set free from the pedestrian tasks to

which Ticknor willingly committed himself, and another strength than the one he had. There were temperamental reasons, too, why Ticknor could never have made such a higher synthesis. He belongs essentially to the hard-headed group of American writers who, like Andrews Norton, stopped short of transcendentalism. Ticknor's German training had taught him what much of the British scholarship of his time sorely needed to learn—the need of the broadest possible basis in facts; from that point onward, however, his scholarship remained essentially British in its distrust of ideas. The *History of Spanish Literature* is much more like Warton's *History of English Poetry* and Hallam's *Middle Ages* than it is like anything German. More serious temperamental defects are still to be mentioned. The plain fact is that Ticknor did not possess certain of the indispensable organs of literary scholarship. He lacked *ordonnance;* he was blind to the French literature of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance; and he wanted ear—especially for verse. His lack of the sense for sequence, arrangement, and emphatic or conspicuous position appears even in the unworkmanlike construction of many of his sentences, and in the misplacement of matter (especially in footnotes) just at the point where random association happened to make him think of it. In his references to French literature, which in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was so closely connected with Spanish, he disparages Ronsard and misassigns him with the decadents; he has not a word about Du Bellay; and, almost incredibly, he seems not even to have known of the *Chanson de Roland.* His want of ear and want of the sense of arrangement make his history difficult reading. Only occasionally does it attain anything worthy of the name of style.

Ticknor, as has been intimated, left no school; though American scholars have since studied *cosas de España*, they do not take him for their point of departure, and his work ends rather than begins an era. While it was Ticknor who turned the attention of Prescott to Spanish history, yet Ticknor's own *History* did not appear until after Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, *Conquest of Mexico*, and *Conquest of Peru.* It belongs in fact rather with the discursive historical work of Irving and of Prescott than with the minute textual studies and editions which have been the chief task of later Spanish scholarship in

this country.[1] Similarly, a direct connection between Ticknor's teaching and the later teaching of modern languages and literatures would be difficult to trace. Longfellow never studied under him, and took his own scholarship according to his own poetic temper. Ticknor retired from Harvard when Lowell was a sophomore; and there was no sympathetic contact between the two in later years. Charles Eliot Norton came to Harvard after his "Uncle Ticknor" had gone, and his studies in Dante give no sign of contact with those of his kinsman.

The impulse after 1850 toward the study of the modern languages and literatures was due rather to the immigration which had been set up by the European troubles of 1848, and which brought many cultivated Germans and Frenchmen to the United States. Hindered by our own political disturbances during the fifties and sixties, and helped by the "scientific" and utilitarian opposition to the classics, it reached self-consciousness and scholarship in the seventies, with the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University (1876), which proposed a scientific philology, impartial whether ancient or modern. Professor Gildersleeve having founded the American Journal of Philology in 1880, his colleague A. Marshall Elliott (1844–1910) soon interested a sufficient number of advanced teachers of the modern languages to found in 1883 the Modern Language Association of America,[2] of which he was the first secretary, and of whose *Publications*, also suggested by him, he was the first editor (1884–92). For twenty-five years, also, until his death, he edited *Modern Language Notes*, now continued by his former colleague, James Wilson Bright. The progress of "modern philology" in America thus belongs to the university era, and is detached from Ticknor.

University production obtained its other great successes in the philology of the classics, of general linguistics, of English, and of the fine arts.

The University of Virginia opened with several foreign teachers whom Jefferson's friend Francis W. Gilmer had engaged abroad. Its first professor of the Ancient Languages (1825–28) was George Long, who is best known for his transla-

[1] See Romera-Navarro, 135.

[2] Charles Francis Adams's address, *A College Fetich*, delivered at Harvard in June, 1883, independently excited public interest in the subject.

tions of Marcus Aurelius (1826) and of Epictetus (1877). Upon his recall in 1828 to the chair of Greek at the newly established University College, London, he named as his successor his pupil Gessner Harrison (1807–62), with whom he remained in correspondence and to whom he sent copies of the earlier portions of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* as they appeared from 1833 onward. Harrison thereupon applied the comparative method to his own studies and teaching long before it had been practised elsewhere in America, or in England, or had been generally accepted even in Germany

Among classical scholars in America as elsewhere two types are distinguishable; the one indulging its æsthetic appreciation, historical and archæological associations, and a philosophical discursiveness about the ancients, and the reconstitution of antiquity as a whole—Boeckh's ideal of *Altertumswissenschaft;* the other inclining towards minute grammatical, textual, and metrical investigations—the ideals rather of Hermann and Curtius. Two scholars of the first type are Cornelius Conway Felton and Theodore Dwight Woolsey.

Felton (1807–62), like Harrison, his exact contemporary, received all his training in this country. Seven years after his graduation from Harvard he became in 1834 Eliot Professor of Greek Literature, made his first journey abroad in 1853–54, spending several months in Greece, and became president of Harvard two years before his death. The close friend of Longfellow, Felton, was a genial soul, enthusiastic for antiquity, who rather deprecated minute grammatical study and overmuch concern with choric metres and textual readings and emendations. These things he thought dried up the springs of human feeling in the student. He favoured instead the appreciative study of ancient and modern literatures together, paralleling Æschylus with Shakespeare and Milton, comparing Sophocles and Euripides with Alfieri, Schiller, and Goethe, and contrasting Greek with French drama. He published (1834) Wolf's text of the *Iliad* with Flaxman's illustrations and his own notes; and made college editions of *The Clouds*, *The Birds*, and the *Agamemnon*, and of the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates. The fruits of his journey were his *Selections from Modern Greek Writers* (1856) and several series of Lowell Institute lectures, published posthumously as *Greece, Ancient and Modern.*

Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801–89), who graduated at Yale in 1820, was in Germany and France from 1827 to 1830, studying with Welcker, and with both Hermann and Boeckh. In 1830 he was present at the "Literary Convention" held in New York, which was the first important American assemblage of professional educators, and was associated with the founding of New York University. Woolsey and others—among them, Francis Lieber—addressed the convention in defence of liberal studies. At Yale he was professor of Greek from 1831 to 1846, and president from 1846 till he resigned in 1871. He edited the *Alcestis* (1834), the *Antigone*, and the *Electra* (1835–37), the *Prometheus* (1837), and the *Gorgias* (1842). Like Felton, Woolsey did not train professional philologists, but did much to induct American youth into a liberal education. He exhibits the Yale sobriety and lucidity that is characteristic of his uncle, Timothy Dwight, and of his younger contemporaries, James Hadley and William Dwight Whitney; and like Lieber and Hadley he turned from the classics to political science and law.

Others of this generation worked at lexicography. John Pickering's *Lexicon* has already been mentioned. Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles (1807–83), born in Thessaly, taught Greek at Yale from 1837 to 1840, and thenceforth at Harvard, where from 1860 he was professor of Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek. He published a *Greek Grammar* in 1838, but what makes him memorable is his compilation of the Greek Ducange, his great *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1870). To Henry Drisler (1818–97) are due most of the emendations in the second edition (1887) of Sophocles's *Lexicon*. Drisler, who was a professor of Greek in Columbia College, also prepared American editions of Liddell and Scott (1851) and of Yonge's *English-Greek Lexicon* (1858). With Howard Crosby (1826–91), he founded in 1857 the "Greek Club" which ended with his life. Forcellini's *Latin Lexicon*, abridged by Wilhelm Freund (1834–35), was the foundation of a Latin Dictionary (1850) by E. A. Andrews (1787–1858); which in turn was revised and re-edited in 1879 by Charlton Thomas Lewis (1834–1904), an ex-professor of Greek who at the time was practising law in New York, and Charles Lancaster Short (1821–86), professor of Latin in Columbia College.

The next generation turns somewhat decisively to the ideals

of Hermann. James Hadley (1821–72), before he entered Yale as a junior in 1840, had "read as much Greek and Latin as Macaulay had read during his whole school and university life." By 1851 he had become professor of the Greek Language and Literature at Yale. Meanwhile, with his friend William Dwight Whitney, he had been studying Sanskrit under Edward Elbridge Salisbury (1814–1901), then our only trained Oriental scholar, who had but two pupils in Sanskrit—Hadley and Whitney, *duos sed leones*. Whitney went abroad to continue his studies; Hadley married and settled in New Haven, where he remained until his death. When Hadley decided to become a philologist, Benjamin Peirce said that one of the finest mathematical minds of his generation was lost; in fact, Hadley's work produces an irresistible impression of sheer all-round power. The day of narrow specialization had not come, and Hadley could write with equal authority a *Greek Grammar* (1860); a *Brief History of the English Language;* and *Lectures on Roman Law* (1873). The *Greek Grammar*, as revised by Frederic De Forest Allen in 1884, and the *Brief History of the English Language*, as revised by G. L. Kittredge, are still in use. The *Lectures on Roman Law* were said as recently as 1904 to be "in some respects the best elementary exposition of the system of Gaius and Justinian." Hadley's shorter papers were edited after his death by Whitney (*Essays Philological and Critical*, 1873). They discuss, among much else, Ernst Curtius's theory that the migrating Ionians were only going back to their home land in Asia; the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century; and the origin of the English possessive case. They review Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, and wittily demolish Ludwig Ross's *Italiker und Gräken*. They contain, finally, perhaps the ripest and best known of Hadley's memoirs, that *On the Nature and Theory of the Greek Accent*. In the light of such work, Whitney's opinion that Hadley was "America's best and soundest philologist" is not a friendly exaggeration, but an expert's cool appraisal.

George Martin Lane (1823–97), a pupil of Karl Beck, in 1847 resumed the Harvard tradition of study in Germany, which for a long period after the return of the Göttingen group had been almost intermitted. Working at Göttingen, Berlin, Bonn, and Heidelberg under K. F. Hermann, Welcker, Heyse,

Ernst Curtius, and others, Lane received his degree at Göttingen in 1851 for a dissertation which has remained an authority upon the history of the city of Smyrna. In the same year he succeeded Beck as professor of Latin, and served until 1894, promoting the work of the graduate school of research, and offering courses more and more advanced. The soundness and the brilliancy of his teaching are still proverbial, and his publications, though few, are influential. *Latin Pronunciation* (1871) is said to have "worked a revolution in exterminating the English pronunciation of Latin in this country—a revolution which even the weight and learning of a Munro could never even begin in England."[1] Lane assisted Charlton T. Lewis in producing the large *Harper's Latin Dictionary* (Lewis and Short), but contributed more vitally to the smaller or *School Lexicon*, "by far the more original and trustworthy book." Chief of his works is the *Latin Grammar*, for which he had been collecting material since 1869, but which was just approaching completion when he died. Lane wore his learning lightly and was remarkable for his wit. At the Newport Town and Country Club, presided over by Julia Ward Howe, he presented in Latin a burlesque Harvard Commencement programme; upon an adventure of his own he composed the far-famed ballad of "The Lone Fish Ball."

The brothers Joseph Henry Allen (1820–98) and William Francis Allen (1830–89) together edited Virgil (1880), and with James Bradstreet Greenough (1833–1901) produced the well-known "Allen and Greenough" Latin texts, which included Cæsar, Sallust, Ovid, and Cicero. J. H. Allen with Greenough wrote the Allen and Greenough *Latin Grammar*, published 1872, and an *Elementary Latin Composition*, published 1876. W. F. Allen contributed the historical and archæological material to the Allen and Greenough series, and later edited Tacitus. Greenough in 1865 was appointed to a Latin tutorship at Harvard, and was professor of Latin from 1883 until the year of his death. He taught himself Sanskrit, became interested from the first in comparative grammar and general linguistics,

[1] It is said, however, that "Washington and Lee University was the first institution in this country to adopt the Roman pronunciation of Latin"—it was introduced there in 1868 by Milton W. Humphreys, later (1887) professor of Greek at the University of Virginia.

an interest stimulated by Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses* (1860), and applied these methods to the Latin verb in his *Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive* (1870). The principles here laid down and followed seem to show that Greenough was strongly influenced not only by the German originators of the comparative linguistic method, and by Goodwin, but by W. D. Whitney as well, whose *Language and the Study of Language* had appeared at the very time (1867) when Greenough was undertaking his researches. Greenough introduced the teaching of Sanskrit and comparative philology at Harvard, and gave courses in them from 1872 until the appointment of C. R. Lanman as professor of Sanskrit in 1880. In 1872, likewise, he published with Joseph Henry Allen a *Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges, founded on Comparative Grammar*, in which he applied the methods and amplified the results of the *Analysis*. This, though in name only a schoolbook, contains in its successive editions the results of Greenough's research, and has been widely influential upon the subsequent study of Latin syntax. The issues of his investigation in other fields quietly appear in the same way in the volumes of the Allen and Greenough series. *Words and their Ways in English Speech* (1901), which Greenough and G. L. Kittredge prepared together, presents in racy and readable form the substance of much solid scholarship. Greenough was active in the development of the Harvard Graduate School; established in 1889 the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology;* introduced reading at sight into American classical teaching; promoted the collegiate instruction of women; wrote excellent Latin verse and prose; and, like Lane and Child and Goodwin, delighted in learned fun.

Frederic DeForest Allen (1844–97) in 1879 was appointed Hadley's successor at Yale, and in 1880 was called to Harvard as the first professor of Classical Philology, where he remained until his death. Those who could best judge his work found in him a tireless questioner of traditions, an essential investigator; and what he investigated was the life of the ancients. He considered classical learning to be "a great branch of anthropology, giving insight, when rightly studied, into the mental operations and intellectual and moral growth of ancient peoples. To him, literature and monuments were records of life, and they were to be interpreted by it and in turn were themselves

to interpret it." His only volumes are an edition of the *Medea* (1876), a collection of *Remnants of Early Latin* (1879), Hadley's *Greek Grammar*, revised and in part rewritten (1884), and a translation of the *Prometheus Bound* (1891); but he published many short papers, chiefly upon etymologies, inscriptions, and ancient music and metres. In 1885 and 1886 he had charge of the American School at Athens, and had, at his death, gathered materials for an edition, never finished, of the *scholia* of Plato.

William Watson Goodwin (1831–1912), after his graduation at Harvard in 1851, studied at Göttingen, returned in 1856 as tutor in Greek, and was Eliot Professor of Greek from 1860 until his resignation in 1901. His *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (1860) has passed through many editions and revisions, and still holds the field as an epitome of classical usage. Its lucid analysis and arrangement and copious citations of its basic material make it both a reference book and a thesaurus. Its results enter more briefly into the *Greek Grammar* of 1870, which like *Moods and Tenses* remains in current use after a good half-century. Goodwin also revised Felton's edition of the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates (1864), and edited *The Clouds* (1873) and the collected translation of Plutarch's *Morals*, by several hands (1871). The *Agamemnon*, in his text, was performed at Harvard in 1906. His greatest editions are those of Demosthenes *On the Crown* (1901) and *Against Midias* (1906).

Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, still living as the dean of American philologists, was born in 1831 at Charleston, South Carolina. After his graduation at Princeton in 1849, he studied under Boeckh, Schneidewin, and Ritschl at Berlin, Bonn, and Göttingen, where he achieved the doctorate in 1853 with a dissertation upon Porphyry's Homeric studies. At the University of Virginia he was from 1856 to 1876 professor of Greek, and from 1861 to 1866, professor of Latin. Upon the establishment of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 he was appointed to its first professorship, that of Greek, which, as Emeritus, he still holds. He gave powerful aid in making the university a true school of research and his own department a training ground for philologists.[1] In 1880 Gildersleeve established the

[1] Among his pupils was Thomas Randolph Price, exemplar of the essential oneness of the humanities, who both at Randolph-Macon and at the University of

American Journal of Philology, which from the first took high rank as a repository of solid contributions to philology modern as well as classical, and which published from time to time the results of his own research, both *in extenso* and in the notes and short reviews which filled his special department, "Brief Mention." Gildersleeve's great power of literary appreciation and expression is grounded upon endless interest in the minutiæ of syntax and metre. His *Latin Grammar* (1867) had already reached a stage of induction which enabled its analysis to stand as the method of the *Syntax of Classical Greek* (1900, 1911) still in course of publication. The edition of *Persius* (1875) shows the combination of these qualities, its Introduction taking high rank as a literary and historical essay, and its notes guiding the student through the intricacies of Persius's language and allusion. Professor Gildersleeve himself confesses that he used his edition of the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr (1877) and his edition of Pindar (1885) chiefly as a repository of his syntactical theories—an assertion doubtless flavoured with Socratic irony. His *Syntax* has recorded and explicated usage without resort to metaphysics. Through his publications he has exercised a very great influence upon many scholars who were not his students, but who acknowledge that they "have all been to school to Gildersleeve."

The technical content of most of Professor Gildersleeve's writings has perhaps kept the larger public from appreciating his literary merit. Nor can even so much of his work as might be open to popular appreciation, like the collected *Essays and Studies* (1890), hope for a very numerous reading public. For it is a work of disillusionment. Just as in his own professional field Professor Gildersleeve has witnessed and partly undergone "The Oscillations and Nutations of Philological Studies," so he looks upon the general human scene with the eyes of Ecclesiastes. Like that other veteran Hellenist, Professor Mahaffy, he seems to grow weary of the high and central classics (his *Pindar* is his only edition of any one of them), and to turn with a certain relief to secondary writers, like Persius

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Virginia, where he followed Gildersleeve as professor of Greek, wove classical studies and English together, considering the study of English partly "as an Introduction to the Study of Latin and Greek" (1877). He later was professor of English at Columbia University.

and Lucian and Platen, who hold life at arm's length for satirical comment. But his disillusionment brings with it no impairment of his wit, and this, despite the irrelevancies into which it often leads him, is both brilliant and profound. Everywhere his essential *esprit* and intellectual energy, when they do not bewilder the reader and leave him far behind, delight and stimulate him. A literary satirist, Gildersleeve should have written a History of Literary Satire; and one who would form an anthology of the less technical sayings from "Brief Mention" would find that he had gathered many of the materials for such a work. Upon Gildersleeve all the ends of the world are come; he has lamented the old Germany that died with the Franco-Prussian war, and the old South that died with the Civil War; and, having witnessed the passing of two civilizations and the unending vicissitudes of mankind, he is still gathering his multiform experience into writing, and *γηράσκει αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*.

The greatest English-speaking student of general linguistics and of the science of language, William Dwight Whitney (1827–1894), was born at Northampton, to a fine local and family tradition of manners, character, and scholarship. Having graduated in 1845 at Williams College, he later became an assistant to his brother Josiah, who in 1849 was conducting the United States survey of the Lake Superior region; and he wrote for the report of the expedition the chapter on botany. Meanwhile he had become interested in Sanskrit; he studied it in his leisure time during the survey, and immediately afterward went to Yale for graduate study in the Department of Philosophy and the Arts, which Professor Salisbury had been active in organizing (1846–48), and which was the first graduate school of genuine university rank in the United States.

From 1850 to 1853 Whitney studied in Berlin under Weber, Bopp, and Lepsius, and at Tübingen under Roth. Returning to the United States in 1853, he was next year appointed Salisbury's successor in the chair of Sanskrit, his duties including instruction in the modern languages. He was not released from undergraduate teaching until 1869, when Salisbury increased the endowment of Whitney's Yale professorship, and Whitney became "the only 'university professor' . . . in the whole country." He was now enabled to organize fully

a graduate school of philology, which very soon attracted able students, among them Charles R. Lanman, Irving Manatt, Bernadotte Perrin, A. H. Edgren, and William Rainey Harper, who well represent the variety of interests arising from the studies which Whitney directed. From 1850 Whitney had been a member of the American Oriental Society, and he became successively its corresponding secretary, its librarian, and its president. From 1857 to 1885 more than half of the Society's *Journal* came from his busy pen. He was also one of the founders and was the first president of the American Philological Association.

Whitney produced a large volume of work, and left his mark upon many different departments of scholarship. His important achievements in his particular field of Indology can be truly evaluated only by Indologists. His first large work in Indian scholarship was his edition, with Roth, of the *Atharva-Veda-Sanhitā* (1855–56), and his very last was the translation of the same Veda, edited after his death by Charles R. Lanman (1905). Whitney edited in 1862 the *Atharva-Veda-Prātiçākhya* with a translation and notes, and in 1871 the *Taittirīya Prātiçākhya*. "The Prātiçākhyas are the phonetico-grammatical treatises upon the texts of the Vedas, and are of prime importance for the establishment of the text. Their distinguishing feature is minutiæ of marvellous exactness, but presented in such a form that no one with aught less than a tropical Oriental contempt for the value of time can make anything out of them as they stand. Whitney not only out-Hindus the Hindu for minutiæ, but also, such is his command of form, actually recasts the whole so that it becomes a book of easy reference."[1] These intensive studies of the Hindu grammarians and of the Sanskrit texts gave Whitney the material for his great Sanskrit *Grammar* (1879), with its supplement, *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language* (1885), which together form "the crowning achievement" of his work as a Sanskrit scholar. Whitney's book goes behind the Hindu grammarians and rests upon direct induction from the texts. Beginning thus with the phenomena, Whitney might not be too severely condemned if, like Ticknor in the *Spanish Literature*, he had failed to rise much above their merely factual level.

[1] C. R. Lanman: *Memorial Address*, in Whitney Memorial Volume.

But his induction is complete; there are none of those confused categories or obscure arrangements that betoken failure to reach illuminating concepts. Whitney has thus left for the use of students in Indo-European linguistics an organon that is not likely to be soon discarded.

Whitney's works upon the general science of language—*Language and the Study of Language* (1867), *The Life and Growth of Language* (1875), etc., might perhaps never have been written if he "had not been driven to it by . . . the necessity of counteracting as far as possible the influence" of Max Müller's views. Against the idealism, transcendentalism, and logical fallacies of Müller, Whitney takes a distinctly common-sense and almost pragmatic view. Language is for him a human institution, an instrument made by man to meet human needs, and at no time beyond human control. It has to be acquired afresh by every speaker, for it is not a self-subsisting entity that can be transmitted through the body or the mind of race or individual. Whitney thus decisively ranges himself against all absolutist and determinist theories of the nature of language. Upon the origins of language, though he declined to commit himself, as feeling that the evidence warranted no positive assertion, he yet felt equally certain that the evidence did *not* warrant Müller's assertion of a multiple origin—languages springing up here, there, and everywhere upon the surface of the earth. The trend of Whitney's opinion, though he asserts nothing positively, is towards a single primal language.

As in Indology, so in general linguistics, Whitney left a school, represented in Germany by the so-called Jung-Grammatiker, who include Osthoff, Brugmann, Leskien, Fick, and Paul, and in the United States by Professor Hanns Oertel and other disciples. They emphasize the importance of analogy and of phonetic economy, as chief among the psychic factors that must be added to the physical in order to account fully for linguistic change. All Whitney's modes of thinking tended away from those integrations which take the investigator back towards undifferentiated origins, and worked forward among the differentiations that account for linguistic progress towards the present and the future. Whitney is much more interested in the processes of linguistic change than in the evidences of linguistic unity.

The forward look is equally characteristic of his work in orthography and lexicography, which assumed that neither in meaning nor in form is language to be dominated by its past. He consistently and lucidly favoured a reformed spelling, but here too his common sense and regard for present actualities controlled his doctrine, and he never made among the lay public any propaganda looking to the adoption of a phonetic system. In the same way, when he came to the making of *The Century Dictionary*, he conceived it as bound to offer, not a standard of "correctness" derived from classical periods in the past, but a compendium of the actual use and movement of the word throughout its history. Together with this kinetic conception both of the vocabulary and of the semantics of his *Dictionary*, Whitney gave the most minute attention to his etymologies and definitions. Among the editors of Webster's *Dictionary* in 1864, Whitney and Daniel Coit Gilman had had special charge of the revision of the definitions; for the *Century* Whitney obtained the assistance of his brother Josiah in defining the technological words, and the assistance of other experts in their special fields. The result was an extensive vocabulary intensively defined. The etymologies are brought up to the state of knowledge in 1891. The quotations (undated) illustrate rather than fully set forth the semantic history of the word; the *Century* in this respect is surpassed by the Oxford Dictionary, to which alone among English dictionaries it is in any respect second.

Whitney's own writing is a model of lucid exposition. It neither has nor needs adventitious ornament; it does not even need the play of humour to make his most technical essays readable. There are to be sure, flashes of a polemic wit, but what keeps the text alive and at work is the reader's sense that he is in powerful hands that bear him surely along. Whitney seems to divine that particular analysis of his material which will carry the reader cleanly through it. The ultimate impression left by his writings is that of a powerful intellect controlling enormous masses of fact and moving among them as their master. To be interesting, such power needs no play other than its own.

English philology of the nineteenth century in America began with old-fashioned descriptive rhetoric and with in-

creasingly scholarly lexicography; it passed through a middle stage in which it studied Old English and the history of the English language, and amassed solid materials for inferences about English usage; and it emerged at length into distinctly literary studies and editions of great authors or great literary types—Chaucer, Shakespeare, the ballad.

The beginnings were meagre. The low estate of belles lettres and liberal studies in general at Yale in 1778 has been indicated in President Stiles's *Inaugural Oration*. Almost at the same time (1776) Timothy Dwight, then a tutor, "gave a course of lectures on style and composition similar in plan to the lectures of Blair," then not yet published. During his presidency Dwight resumed the teaching of belles lettres, probably with the same scope as that of Blair's rhetoric—the study of diction and style in the narrower sense. Rhetoric at Yale, however, was until a late period generally rather a step-child in the family of the arts. At Harvard, rhetoric has been taught continuously and systematically. The sum left by Nicholas Boylston (1771) for the foundation of a professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory having accumulated until 1806, John Quincy Adams was installed and held the chair until 1809. His *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory* (1810), to the number of thirty-six, begin with the regular defence of rhetoric against its maligners; move historically through Greece and Rome down to Quintilian, with, however, only the barest mention of Aristotle; and thence build upon a combination of Cicero's analysis (invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and pronunciation or action) with Aristotle's classification of all oratory as demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial, adding a modern class, "eloquence of the pulpit." The discussion throughout is illustrated by excellently chosen examples from the orators and the poets, modern as well as ancient. It is doubtful whether anybody wrote or spoke the better for having listened to these lectures, substantial and sensible as they are, but that fact does not prevent them from being an exceedingly interesting account of rhetoric as understood early in the nineteenth century.

The Boylston Professorship was held from 1819 to 1851 by Edward Tyrrel Channing (1790–1856), a younger brother of William Ellery Channing. His *Lectures*, published immediately

after his death, obviously owe much to Adams's. From a comparison of the orator's opportunity in ancient and in modern times, they proceed through the usual apology for rhetoric to the usual division into demonstrative, deliberative, judicial, and pulpit oratory. They omit the discussion of composition itself in its parts and phases, and treat instead the standards and the forms of criticism, with what looks like a distinct plea in defence of the cryptic and Orphic utterances of the transcendentalists. Channing, like Adams, is descriptive and critical rather than practical; he gives a student standards by which to judge existing discourse rather than assistance in producing his own. Such assistance he seems to have reserved for the personal conferences which he held with his students over their themes. There is general agreement that he was a most successful teacher of the art of writing, and that, as Colonel Higginson says, Channing "turned out more good writers than any half-dozen other rhetoric teachers in America." Among his pupils were Emerson, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Holmes, Lowell, Motley, Parkman, George Ripley, W. L. Furness, and Andrew Preston Peabody, the last of whom considers Channing's appointment as "perhaps the most important ever made in the interest of American literature."

Channing's personal conferences with students over their written work foreshadowed the changes which the nineteenth century wrought in the philology of rhetoric. Rhetoric has moved from oratory and public speaking to writing, and to speaking as a preparation for writing. It has moved from rhetorical history, precept, and theory, to practice. It has moved from the study of diction and style to the study of development and structure. It has moved from rules, through logic, to psychology.

Meanwhile, in the fifties and sixties, just when rhetoric was turning from diction to invention, there arose a new group of writers on diction. These seldom deal with linguistic groups larger than the phrase, and never with the sentence; they are interested for the most part in the history of words and locutions; and they all sooner or later discuss Americanisms as an exceedingly interesting phase of this history. Though they all more or less tell the reader what to say and not to say, they are

distinguished from mere writers of textbooks by their much higher degree of historic purpose and objectivity.

The first of this group seems to have been George Perkins Marsh (1801–82). At Dartmouth College he read Latin and Greek far beyond the requirements of the curriculum, and taught himself to read fluently French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian.[1] He then turned to the Scandinavian languages; from 1832 onward kept up a correspondence "indifferently in English and Danish" with C. C. Rafn of Copenhagen; and in 1838 printed an Icelandic grammar. His appointment in 1849 as minister to Turkey enabled him to travel extensively, and nourished still further his somewhat exotic powers. In 1852 he went to Athens as special minister to Greece. It was in 1858–59 that he delivered at Columbia College, as one of the "Post-graduate" courses of instruction (organized 1858), his *Lectures on the English Language.* Of the thirty lectures, seven deal with the sources, composition, and vocabulary of the language, six with parts of speech and grammatical inflections, three with English as affected by the art of printing, three with rhyme, alliteration, and assonance, and others with pronunciation, synonyms, the principles of translation, the English Bible, corruptions of English, and the English Language in America. Marsh's Lowell Institute lectures of 1860–61, *The Origin and History of the English Language* (1862), were much more distinctly historical. They come down chronologically from "Origin and Composition of the Anglo-Saxon People and Their Language" to "The English Language and Literature during the Reign of Elizabeth." Marsh's last and greatest foreign venture was his mission as our first minister to the Kingdom of Italy, to which he was appointed by Lincoln in 1861. He died in Italy. Marsh was an early and frequent contributor to *The Nation;* prepared a number of articles, chiefly on Spanish, Catalan, and Italian literature, for Johnson's Cyclopædia; and wrote monographs on *The Camel* (1856) and on *Man and Nature* (1865; afterwards issued as *The Earth as Modified by Human Action,* 1874). His philological work is spoken of with respect by the other members of the group, even by Fitzedward Hall.

Richard Grant White (1821–85), who will demand attention later as one of the outstanding American editors of Shakespeare,

[1] At some time he was a pupil of Lorenzo Da Ponte.

having in the late sixties contributed to a periodical a number of articles on English usage, published them in a volume as *Words and Their Uses* (1870). A second series, *Every Day English*, appeared in 1880. In these books, White, of New England Brahmin stock, made up for having been accidentally born in New York by exhibiting all the linguistic and racial prejudices of Boston. He attached to English usage an alluring and a threatening social sanction, which helps partly to explain his popularity. His prohibition of certain forms of speech is "exclusiveness" in linguistic disguise; and the uninstructed reader felt—for White told him so—that he should probably be beyond the social pale even if he obeyed White, but should certainly be if he did not. Social distinction was thus the prize which White offered, with a precariousness that rendered it only the more attractive. It soon became evident that he had not sufficiently studied the history of some of the locutions which he condemned—"had rather," "reliable," and "is being built," for example; but when taken to task for setting up personal preferences as if they were established by weight of usage, he would amiably deprecate authority, delicately implying that his opponent was of course learned, but a pedant. White's more relevant defence was that historical usage afforded after all only the raw material from which present writers and speakers might choose, exercising by way of principles of selection both taste—especially in the direction of simplicity—and reason, to which White thought usage tended continually to approach.

His chief opponent was the incomparably more scholarly Fitzedward Hall (1825–1901). Hall, of the Harvard class of 1846, just before graduation left college to search for a runaway brother in India. There in time he became tutor and professor of Sanskrit and English in the Government College at Benares, and in 1862 he was appointed professor of Sanskrit, Hindustani, and Indian Jurisprudence in King's College, London. In the fifties and sixties he edited a number of Sanskrit texts, as well as a Hindi grammar and reader, but in the seventies and the eighties his publications dealt chiefly with English usage, to the elucidation of which he brought vast accumulations derived from his enormous reading. His *Recent Exemplifications of False Philology* (1872), though it incidentally bowls over Landor,

Coleridge, and De Quincy, fulminates chiefly against Richard Grant White, and his *Modern English* (1873) returns to the attack, once more leading up to White through Cicero, Sir John Cheke, Bentley, Swift, Dr. Johnson, and others who have laboured under the delusion that usage needs to be fixed in order to save a language from corruption. Wherever Hall attacks White he routs him. Yet the actual influence of White has probably been greater, and this not without reason. Hall often adopts a tone of personal vituperation which antagonizes while it amuses. His own crabbed sentences go far to exasperate even a reader who must needs respect his scholarship. White, though he tried to schoolmaster the language, did generally prefer the things which are of good report; and his precepts, apart from certain easily exploded pedantries, made in general against affectation and for simplicity. The solid masses of Hall's erudition have needed to be diluted for popular consumption, and it is this dilution that Professor Lounsbury performed in some of his less weighty works, for example, *The Standard of Usage in English.*

The Harvard achievement in rhetoric is matched by the Yale achievement in lexicography. Webster and Worcester were Yale men; Whitney is closely associated with Yale; and the first American dictionary, that of Samuel Johnson, Jr. (1757–1836), son of the Samuel Johnson who was the first president of King's College, was published (1798) in New Haven.

Noah Webster (1758–1843), a Connecticut farmer's boy, graduated at Yale in 1778, and after studying law and teaching school in several Connecticut towns, compiled in the years following 1782 his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, in three parts: (I) his celebrated *Spelling Book* (1783), of which "more than eighty million copies are said to have been sold before 1880"; (II) a *Plain and Comprehensive Grammar* (1784); (III) a *Reader* (1785). His first dictionary, the *Compendious Dictionary* of 1806, at once takes independent Yankee ground. Webster was not to be imposed upon by even the authority of the English Johnson; the locution "never so wise," opposed by Johnson, he favoured on historical grounds; "skeptic," proposed by Johnson, he opposed on grounds of analogy. In fact, Webster had taught himself some Anglo-Saxon, and, however imperfectly

acquainted with it, had acquired a true and sensible feeling for historical method and for the weight of analogy in deciding points where usage is doubtful. In these respects his *Dictionary* anticipates the methods of the larger *American Dictionary of the English Language* of 1828, in the preparation of which he spent the next twenty years.

Meanwhile there should be noted the appearance of a dictionary by Burgiss Allison: *The American Standard of Orthography and Pronunciation, and Modern Dictionary of the English Language* (1815). This is an abridged form of material which Allison promised to issue soon without abridgment; but whether he did so is not certain. What distinguishes his work is that he aimed not merely at utility, as Webster did, but at "fixing a standard," and that he had enlisted the interest of "many distinguished Characters, and Seminaries. . . . The reception of their collective observations, and through them of the literati in general, must eventually furnish a highly perfected dictionary."

Webster's studies were without any such guidance. He applied himself to etymology; undertook a comparative study of the "principal words in twenty languages, arranged in classes under their primary elements or letters"; and of these made a *Synopsis* which gave him "what appeared to be the general principle on which these languages were constructed." Thereupon he spent a year abroad, studying chiefly "the pronunciation of the language in England . . . and incidental points in pronunciation and grammatical construction." The book, finished at Cambridge early in 1825, was issued in 1828. Webster lived to make one revision (for the edition of 1840), and was engaged upon another when he died. It was unfortunate that Webster did not come into contact with the "literati," for they would have enabled him before his second edition, and all the more before his third, to correct his work by means of the comparative method which had been elaborated in Germany. Yet even had the complete method of Grimm and Bopp been accessible to him in 1828, Webster, then seventy years old, could hardly have been censured for not acquiring at that age a new set of highly inflected languages with complex inter-relations, or even for not realizing that the new method would kill his old etymologies. But the fact seems to be that he was simply un-

aware of the new movement. It was not until 1833 that Gessner Harrison received his materials upon it from George Long; not until 1839 that Salisbury brought it to Yale, where Webster might have had a chance to hear of it.

Webster much enlarged Johnson's vocabulary, admitting a large number of technical terms which Johnson considered outside the classic pale. In this respect Webster's broad personal experience as farmer, lawyer, teacher, editor, and pamphleteer served him well. He was open-minded and meant his book to be serviceable to the common man. In spelling, though his fondness for analogy tended toward a logical schematism, he yet guarded his reforms in most cases by consulting usage, *logic* not *logick*, *meter* not *metre*, *honor* not *honour*, *symbolize* not *symbolise*. Webster's definitions are admittedly his forte. They are untinged with personal bias; they are proportioned in space to the importance of the word and the number of its meanings; and they are so phrased that generally they can be substituted for the word itself. Quotations it was Webster's policy to employ only "to illustrate those definitions that are not entirely evident in sense" without them.

Though in England Webster's *Dictionary* has not superseded Johnson's, it soon became the standard in the United States. The revision of 1847, conducted by Chauncey A. Goodrich, was authoritative. After the fourth edition, the so-called *Pictorial*, further revised by Goodrich but considered only provisional (1859), there appeared in 1864 the fifth edition, the first to be known as the *Unabridged*, a thorough recension by Goodrich (who died in 1860) and by Noah Porter, with a staff which included C. A. F. Mahn of Berlin (who revised the etymologies), W. D. Whitney, James Dwight Dana, Daniel Coit Gilman, and James Hadley. This has been the basis of later revisions, gradually getting rid of some of its defects; for instance, its unscholarly treatment of locutions like "had better," "had rather," and its derivation of "gonoph" from "gone off"! The sixth edition (1890)—the *International*—was the result of the most "extensive and exhaustive revision that the *Dictionary* had received." In 1900 there was added a *Supplement*, still edited by Noah Porter, who had now associated with himself William Torrey Harris; and in 1909 the seventh edition—the *New International*—"entirely remade,"

was published by Harris as editor-in-chief, and F. Sturges Allen, who had been on the staff of the original *International*, as general editor.

Joseph Emerson Worcester (1784–1865), a graduate of Yale in 1811 and Hawthorne's schoolmaster at Salem in 1813, afterward removed to Cambridge, where he came to be numbered among the eccentric characters of the place, and produced school books and books of reference in history and geography. His series of dictionaries (1828, 1830, 1846, 1855) brought on the "War of the Dictionaries" with Webster and his adherents. Apart from irrelevant personalities, the controversy is reducible to one between a retiring and conservative scholar, willing to record the actualities of usage, and a brisk business man and linguistic reformer. Worcester's large *Dictionary of the English Language* (1860) for a few years rivalled the *Pictorial* Webster of 1859, especially in England and in New England; but after the *Unabridged* of 1864 it lost popularity and authority.

For the beginnings of Old English philology in America we must look once more to Thomas Jefferson. As has been noted, Jefferson favoured the study of the Germanic languages in general, and gave them a place in the proposed curriculum of William and Mary College and of the University of Virginia. Though he made no independent research into any of these languages, he had diligently studied and annotated several Anglo-Saxon grammars; he read Old English "with his feet on the fender"; and in the course of his works he expressed many ideas on English philology, some erroneous but all interesting. He favoured neologisms as a sign of a language's vitality; he urged the systematic study of dialects because these often preserved racy and primitive forms which the literary language had lost; he felt that Anglo-Saxon was merely "old English"; he deprecated the treatment of Germanic grammar, old or new, as if it were Latin grammar; and he definitely recognized the connection of "the ancient languages and literature of the North . . . with our own language, laws, customs, and history."

To teach Germanic philology Jefferson appointed George Blaetterman, a German then resident in London, to the first professorship of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia, a post which he held from 1825 to 1840. He is said to

have "found peculiar pleasure" in comparative philology and to have contributed, with George Long, to a *Comparative Grammar*. Blaetterman was succeeded by Charles Kraitsir, who published among other works a *Glossology: Being a Treatise on the Nature of Language and on the Language of Nature* (New York, 1852). The third incumbent was Maximilian Schele DeVere, who published several works upon French, Spanish, and English, as well as two upon Americanisms. Probably the first Anglo-Saxon texts and grammar to be published in America were those edited by Louis F. Klipstein, a native of Virginia and a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, who also studied at Giessen. In 1844 he edited in Charleston the *Polyglott*, a monthly magazine "devoted to the French, German, Spanish, and Italian Languages." His *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language* and *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica—Selections in Prose and Verse from the Anglo-Saxon Literature* (two volumes), both indebted to Thorpe, were much used as text books and went through several editions. He wrote and edited other books dealing with Anglo-Saxon, and planned still more, all of them deriving not from the German scholarship of his day but from English models.

Old English, thus first cultivated in Virginia, was taught from 1839 to 1842 at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, by Edward Dromgoole Simms. At Amherst it was taught as early as 1841, if not before, by William Chauncey Fowler, Noah Webster's son-in-law. In 1851 Child introduced it at Harvard. In 1856 it reached Lafayette; in 1867, Haverford; in 1868, St. John's College; in 1871, Cornell; and by 1875 it was read at Columbia and the University of Wisconsin, and at Yale in the Sheffield Scientific School and the Post-Graduate Department.

Fowler by his teaching and Webster through his writings are said to have "exercised a dominant influence" on the mind of Francis Andrew March (1825–1911), a graduate of Amherst and after 1855 a professor at Lafayette College. March there taught Latin and Greek, French and German, botany, law, political economy, "mental philosophy," and the Constitution of the United States—all this as professor of the English Language and Comparative Philology. "Teaching English classics like the Greek and Latin" became his characteristic. As English gradually gained a place in the curriculum beside the an-

cient classics or in their stead, it was challenged to furnish an equivalent discipline. For this process March's method was admirably fitted. It is fully set forth in his *Method of Philological Study of the English Language* (1865), which is modelled upon the *Method of Classical Study* (1861) by Samuel Harvey Taylor, principal of Phillips Andover Academy. These books gave a minimum of text and a maximum of questions and notes on grammar, syntax, and etymology. As a classical scholar himself, March undertook the general editorship (1874–77) of the Douglass Series of Christian Greek and Latin writers, in which the two principal volumes were March's *Latin Hymns* and Gildersleeve's *Justin Martyr*.

March's chief work, however, lay in English philology. His *Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1870) was the first attempt anywhere to concentrate upon Old English the results of general Indo-European linguistic study. It focusses upon the illustration of Old English forms a collection of the forms of "Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German." According to a competent critic "the *Grammar* 'marked an epoch,'" and "revealed the author's full stature as a commanding figure in the world of philological scholarship."[1] March was "controlled by the noblest philosophic conception of the science of grammar"—the conception that the "facts and laws of language are seen to be facts and laws of mind and of the history of man." He was profoundly interested in spelling reform, which he actively urged upon both the learned and the unlearned. His work in lexicography is also notable. For several years he cooperated with the Oxford Dictionary by selecting and directing its American readers (1879–82). As consulting editor he planned the *Standard Dictionary* (1890–95). The *Thesaurus Dictionary of the English Language* (1902), said to have been "prepared under the supervision of Francis Andrew March," is really a recension of Roget, for which March "did little more than read printers' proofs and contribute a 'Foreword.'"

American editions of Shakespeare,[2] from 1795, when the first one, edited anonymously, was published in Philadelphia,

[1] J. W. Bright. *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, xxix, cxxix.

[2] For a full account, see Jane Sherzer's valuable article, *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, xxii, 633–96.

down to 1836, have considerable bibliographical interest, but bibliographical interest almost exclusively. They are all derived, with a minimum of editorial work, from contemporary English editions. The possible exception is the Philadelphia edition of 1805–9, anonymous but pretty surely edited by Joseph Dennie, who, adopting Reed's text of 1803, made a few changes after the text of Ayscough (Dublin, 1791), suggested some conjectural emendations of his own, generally needless, and added a large number of original notes, mostly verbal. The Boston edition of 1836, edited anonymously by Oliver William Bourn Peabody (1799–1848), at that time an editor of *The North American Review*, is the first American Shakespeare which at least professes to base its text independently upon the Folio of 1623. In point of fact, Peabody's text is mainly that of Singer; there are very few avowed textual emendations; and of these about one-third "do not follow the Folio, although they would better have done so." Peabody's few notes deal with the text as such. It is his distinction to have been the first American textual critic of Shakespeare, and to have set before himself at least as an ideal the constitution of a text upon the early authorities.

Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1786–1870) issued under his own name an edition published in New York in 1847. He based his text upon Collier's, departing from it in several places by reason of his preference for the Folio; he believed that the Quartos represent Shakespeare's early or unrevised work, while the Folios contain his work matured and revised. This in turn is linked with Verplanck's theory of the growth of Shakespeare's genius—a theory which Verplanck took as the basis of almost his entire conception of Shakespearian editorship. It is according to this theory that he attempts to fix the chronology of the plays, and prints them in supposed chronological sequence within their generic division into Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. With Verplanck the subjective and æsthetic criticism of the Romantic School avowedly enters American Shakespearian scholarship, coinciding rather closely with transcendentalism in general, which had no Shakespearian scholar.

The romantic treatment of Shakespeare reaches its culmination in the essays and the editions of Henry Norman Hudson (1814–86), whose edition (1851–56) is distinctly popular rather

than scholarly. It makes many needless textual changes, some of them rather wild conjectural emendations of his own, but most of them adopted from other editors. His notes are very full and often obvious. His Introductions and Commentary in general, like the *Lectures* (1848) which preceded the edition and which are largely embodied in its Introductions, belong to the Coleridgean type of criticism—the type of criticism which endeavours to set forth Shakespeare's inwardness, and pays comparatively little attention to his outwardness. The plays are made from within; the characters grow like a tree, by successive natural accretions; the whole effect is like that produced by a work of Nature; nature, in fact, is the essential quality of Shakespeare; and each play and each character in each play is, like Nature, the superlative embodiment of some essential and archetypal idea. This mode of disquisition, together with the treatment of Shakespeare's "alleged immorality," and "alleged want of taste," naturally sentences itself to swift obsolescence.

Richard Grant White's *Shakespeare's Scholar* (1854) criticized acutely the manuscript "corrections" in J. P. Collier's then famous and afterward notorious "Perkins Folio." White did not at first believe that these had been forged by Collier, and he considered that many of them had intrinsic merit; but he demonstrated that they were not early emendations, and were wholly without authority as such. His edition of Shakespeare (1857–66) and his later *Studies in Shakespeare* (1885), though they retain certain characteristics of the Romantic School, exhibit on the whole a healthy reaction against it such as became the friend of Lowell and of Norton. White is romantically inclined to a personal interpretation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and of many of the speeches in the plays, believing in particular that Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida* is Shakespeare's own mouthpiece. On the other hand, he anticipates the later non-idealistic school in regarding Shakespeare as intent simply on writing plays that will pay, and as having "no system of dramatic art." White's text is based upon a careful examination of the Folios and Quartos, accepting the first Folio as generally authentic. In the matter of emendations he is exceedingly cautious—too cautious to suit Lowell.[1] White's notes and commentary in general endeavour

[1] Lowell's anonymous review (*Atlantic Monthly*, Jan.–Feb., 1857) deserves to be reprinted.

simply to put the reader face to face with Shakespeare, and his edition as a whole is justly recognized as combining scholarship with attention to the needs of the general reader.

The *New Variorum Shakespeare*, edited by Horace Howard Furness (1833–1912), began appearing in 1871. Furness was a member of the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia (established 1851 and the oldest Shakespeare society in existence); under its influence he is said to have begun about 1862 a variorum text of *Hamlet*, and it may be that the plan for the *New Variorum* originated among the members of this Society. In any case, though Furness was a Harvard graduate, his undertaking belongs less to any university than to the social and urbane scholarship cultivated among *Privatgelehrten* during the period of learned societies. He conceived the immediate need for his edition to be that the Cambridge edition of 1866 "did not give the history of variant readings in the hands of successive editors, and that it also neglected to record the first editor to adopt a generally accepted reading."[1] These deficiencies the *Variorum* supplies. After the first three volumes, whose text is composite, Furness in *King Lear*, his fourth volume, virtually followed the first Folio, and beginning with the fifth, *Othello*, printed the first Folio text itself, with all variants and emendations in the textual notes. Besides these there are notes explanatory and interpretative, as well as prefatory and appended editorial matter of various kinds, including much æsthetic criticism. Furness in fact was primarily interested, very much as Hudson was, in each play as a self-subsisting entity. Preoccupied thus with the inwardness of Shakespeare, he neglected some material that a variorum edition ought to include—much of the later criticism that deals with Shakespeare's outwardness; with matters like chronology, verse tests, attributions, and types of personage, incident, and dramatic structure common to Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Matter of this kind is being supplied in the later volumes edited by Horace Howard Furness, Jr. Even without it, the *New Variorum* is indispensable. Its special "note" is that it combines all the scientific apparatus that is necessary for the student with all kinds of criticism, which Furness's humour and good judgment hold in clear solution.

[1] Steeves, *American Editors of Shakespeare*, p. 362.

Francis James Child (1825–96), who graduated at Harvard in 1846, spent the remainder of his life in the service of the University. In 1851, when he returned from two years' study of Germanic philology at Göttingen and Berlin, he succeeded E. T. Channing as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, and in 1876 became professor of English. His critical annotated edition of *Four Old Plays* (1848) was the first of the kind to be produced in America. From 1853 onward, as general editor of a series of the British poets, he studied especially Spenser, Chaucer, and the English and Scottish ballads, himself editing Spenser (1855) and the *Ballads* (1857–58). His Spenser, according to Professor Kittredge, "remained after forty years the best edition of Spenser in existence." Child was to have edited Chaucer, too, but he felt that the state of the text and of Chaucerian scholarship generally was not such as to make possible a satisfactory edition. Instead, he proceeded to help make a critical edition possible. His *Observations on the Language of Chaucer* (1863) put definitely out of date the random and arbitrary opinions—favourable or unfavourable, untrue or accidentally true—which critics had ever since the Renaissance been pronouncing upon Chaucer's versification, and placed the matter henceforth upon a basis of exact knowledge. Child's work has not had to be done over again; it has been the point of departure for later research, and remains the classic memoir in this field.

The *Ballads* of 1857, though it easily superseded all other collections, was for Child only a *coup d'essai*, its material mostly from printed sources. The great *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* of 1882–98 is based as much as possible upon manuscript sources, especially the Percy Folio manuscript and Sir Walter Scott's collections at Abbotsford. Child had decided "not to print a line . . . till he had exhausted every effort to get hold of whatever manuscript material might be in existence." With this material Child did not attempt to constitute for each ballad a single critical text, but, recognizing implicit differences between "popular" and "artistic" production, admitted the right of every traditional version to a place in his canon, and, by printing all obtainable versions, offered the broadest possible basis for comparison. His own *Introductions* and *Notes* enrich this material still further by bringing in all the obtainable for-

eign versions of each ballad theme. His collection is thus both a definitive *corpus* of English ballad material[1] and a notable exemplar of the comparative study of literature.

In both his fields of scholarship—Chaucer and the ballad—Child left numerous disciples; and besides the legacy of a fixed body of material ready to be taken as a point of departure, he left the materials for a very lively and still very active controversy upon ballad origins, into which, however, it is impossible to go here. Child himself died before completing the last volume of his *Ballads*, which was to have contained a general preface or introduction that would in all probability have given his view upon the mooted topics. The animation and playfulness of Child's learning must not go unmentioned. His humour everywhere leavens and feeds the very substance of his work—a humour which, playing with the solid materials of his scholarship, would have made him the ideal editor of those sane, humane, and playful persons, Chaucer and Shakespeare. Among the unwritten works, *valde desiderata*, of American scholaship, books like Norton's On the European Power c: Italy, and Gildersleeve's History of Literary Satire, there must surely be counted the Shakespearian and Chaucerian texts and studies which Child did not produce.

It was the fortune of Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury (1838–1915) to produce studies of both Chaucer and of Shakespeare. In 1870 he was appointed instructor in English in the newly established Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, and in 1871 became professor in charge of the English department. The first fruit of his work in Chaucer was an edition of the *Parlement of Foules* in 1877. His *History of the English Language* (1879) has gone through many editions and still holds its place as a standard textbook. It was in 1892 that he published the ripe results of his labors upon Chaucer. *The Studies in Chaucer* comprise eight monographs. The first two present Chaucer's biography—one the biography as far as it is established by evidence and duly guarded inference from the documents, the other the mythical biography or "Chaucer Legend." This simple and profitable distinction Lounsbury seems to have been the first to make, and the effect is comparable to that of

[1] The quarter of a century since Child's death has added almost no genuine ballads to his three hundred and five.

Observations on the Language of Chaucer. Slight errors in detail did not prevent this account of Chaucer's life from being the most accurate which had yet been written. The third monograph, that on Chaucer's text, is an admirable popular account of the method of textual criticism. The fourth presents Lounsbury's canon of Chaucer's work. The fifth, that on Chaucer's learning, is admirable again in its comprehensive view of Chaucer's sources and of the use he made of them. The sixth consists of two sections, one on Chaucer's language, and the other on his religion. The seventh and the eighth, perhaps the most valuable of all, treat respectively Chaucer's "fortunes"—*Chaucer in Literary History*—and his craftsmanship—*Chaucer as a Literary Artist*. The *Studies* are exceedingly diffuse. They suffer from occasional paradox. Their arguments (Chapter VII) that Chaucer's spelling and pronunciation should be modernized, can surely not be allowed. Yet, volume for volume, it would not be easy to find anywhere a set of more solidly valuable literary studies. They have served to give body and weight to many a student's vague conceptions of Chaucer, and, as their style is popular, they must also have carried their substantial materials to many "general" readers.

The three volumes of *Shakespearean Wars* (1901–06) began as a study of Shakespeare's text. Soon it appeared that the treatment accorded the text by editors and critics depended in great measure upon their conception of Shakespeare's art; hence Lounsbury, in much the same way in which he had studied the "fortunes" of Chaucer, was led to study the "fortunes" of Shakespeare. These, as might have been expected, proved to be deeply involved in the general opposition of romanticists to classicists; and of the latter Voltaire emerged as the international champion. Thus finally Lounsbury's studies took shape in a volume on *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, a volume on *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, and a volume on *The Text of Shakespeare*. The first traces to the end of the eighteenth century the course of English opinion about dramatic matters. It shows, what had perhaps been only suspected or inferred, that Shakespeare was, throughout, an encouragement to the more "romantic" party in the controversies; contrary to an opinion rather generally credited, it shows, too, that Shakespeare was esteemed at all times, and esteemed highly even by

"classical" opponents of his practice, who, while they lamented his want of art, admitted that they were pleased by his wildness and nature. With the volume on Voltaire the field of controversy becomes international: Voltaire's exile and return; his initial appreciation of Shakespeare and later recoil from its revolutionary consequences; his belief in the dangers of a barbaric romanticism; his wrath at Letourneur; his controversial relations with Kames, Walpole, Johnson, and Garrick, and the retroactive effect upon his own reputation in England; finally the persistence of his authority as literary arbiter upon the Continent even to the day of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, when the Mede was at the gate and the handwriting clear upon the wall. The third volume centres upon Pope's and Theobald's editions of Shakespeare; the meannesses of Pope and the significance of the first version of the *Dunciad* as a piece of Shakespearean controversy; Bentley's emendations of *Paradise Lost* and the discredit they brought upon all verbal criticism, including the prospective criticism of Theobald—the history, in a word, of the means by which one of the ablest of all the editors of Shakespeare has been pilloried for posterity as "piddling Tibbald."

It will be seen that compared with the *Studies in Chaucer* the *Shakespearean Wars* occupied a much smaller portion of a much larger field; that even this portion had been cultivated before, though never so intensively; that, of course, it was needless to do for Shakespeare what the earlier studies had done for Chaucer; and that for all these reasons the later studies are distinctly less important than the earlier. The same remark applies to Lounsbury's still later works on usage—in diction, in spelling, and in pronunciation, where his diffuseness has come dangerously near prolixity; and to his studies of Tennyson and of Browning, interesting and appreciative though these are. Lounsbury will, it is safe to say, be remembered partly as a scholar who elucidated the attitude of the eighteenth century toward Shakespeare, but chiefly as the scholar whose book made Chaucer a reality beyond the circle of specialists.

It would be an agreeable task to treat in detail the American writers upon art, and to determine whether any definite tendency underlies the work of William Dunlap, Washington Allston, William Wetmore Story, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, W. J. Stillman, and the rest. It will be possible, however, to treat

only the most important member of the group. Charles Eliot Norton[1] (1827–1908), the son of Andrews Norton, graduated at Harvard in 1846, spent five years in business and travel in India and in Europe, was abroad again in England and Italy in 1855–57, and after his return busied himself with writing for the newly established *Atlantic Monthly* and with bringing out certain books of his own. The Civil War gave to his political opinions a stamp which they never lost. From 1864 to 1868 he edited, jointly with Lowell, *The North American Review*, and in 1865, with Frederick Law Olmsted, James Miller McKim, and Edward Lawrence Godkin, he helped to found *The Nation*, to which he contributed generously, and the success of which Godkin credited largely to him. From 1868 to 1873 he was in Europe again. From 1875 to 1898, when he became Emeritus, he held at Harvard the professorship of the History of Art.

During his sojourns abroad, he formed lifelong friendships with Carlyle, Ruskin, FitzGerald, and Leslie Stephen. These men, as well as his American friends, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, George William Curtis, and others, found in him a remarkably receptive and interpretative mind, together with an uncompromising rectitude and independence of judgment—traits which made him an admirable friend to men of gifts more conspicuous than his own, and eminently qualified him for his literary executorships and editorships. He brought out, for example, various portions of Carlyle's correspondence and reminiscences—the correspondence with Emerson (1883) and with Goethe (1887), *Reminiscences* (1887), and letters (1886 and 1889); the letters of Lowell (1893), George William Curtis's *Orations and Addresses* (1894), further Emerson letters (those to Samuel G. Ward, 1899), and Ruskin's letters to Norton himself (1904).

A volume of *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (1860), a portion of which appeared in *The Crayon*[2] during 1856, contains the beginnings, or more than the beginnings, of his accomplishment in the two other fields of scholarship for which he is notable—the fine arts and Dante. Norton presents the extensive studies he has already begun in Dante's works: gathering from the *Commedia*, the *Convito*, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* the

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XIII.

[2] The first magazine of art in America; it was edited by W. J. Stillman.

passages that are concerned with Dante's relation to Rome; studying the interchange of eclogues between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio; and citing passages from the *Inferno* as probably the literary originals of some of the sculptures on one of the piers of the cathedral at Orvieto. Of the building of this cathedral he gives a detailed account which anticipates in many ways the method and content of his later *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages*.

Norton's judgment of painting and architecture at this time suffers severely from the despotism of Ruskin, the Ruskin of *Modern Painters*, whom Norton had first met in 1855. Like Ruskin, he can find little to praise after 1500; and even the fifteenth century comes in for some rather severe reflections. Nothing is worth while but Gothic, and the merits of Gothic consist in its being like nature and at the same time (Norton did not trouble to explain how) an expression of the deepest and highest religious aspirations of man. Norton even imitates some of Ruskin's stylistic mannerisms, though occasionally he finds a sturdier model in Gibbon. A certain banal moralism, when he speaks of retribution in the affairs of nations, is rather in the vein of Carlyle; while on the other hand the following passage, dated "Rome, 20th January, 1857," shows a remarkable coincidence with several passages in *The Marble Faun*[1]: "There is many a wall in Rome made of old materials strikingly joined together,—bits of ancient bricks stamped with a consular date, pieces of the shaft of some marble column, fragments of serpentine, or even of giallo antico, that once made part of the polished pavement of a palace,—now all combined in one strange harmony by Nature, who seems to love these walls and to reclaim them to herself by tinting their various blocks with every hue of weather stain, and hanging over them her loveliest draperies of wall flower and mosses."

Norton continued his work on Dante with a translation of the *Vita Nuova*, first published in 1859. From September, 1865, to May, 1867, he and Lowell, and occasionally George W. Greene, James T. Fields, William Dean Howells, and others, used to gather on Wednesday evenings at Longfellow's house to offer their suggestions and criticisms upon Longfellow's trans-

[1] Hawthorne arrived in Rome 20 January, 1858, began *The Marble Faun* there in the winter of 1859, and finished it in England in March, 1860.

lation of the *Divina Commedia*. This informal Dante Club was the precursor of the Cambridge Dante Society, the foundation of which Norton suggested to some members of his Dante class at Harvard in 1880. These students offered to support the plan, and when Longfellow consented to take the presidency of the club, it was actually inaugurated (1881). Its second president was Lowell; its third, Norton. The Society issues annual reports, accompanied by valuable papers, usually bibliographical, upon various points in Dante scholarship; it has contributed to the assembling in the Harvard library of a large Dante collection; it offers an annual prize for an essay upon a topic relating to Dante; and it has supported and encouraged the publication of the valuable *Concordance* of the *Divina Commedia* by Edward Allen Fay (1888) and of other works.

Norton published his own translation of the *Commedia* in 1891–92—a prose translation, and, needless to say, a faithful one. Compared with a prose masterpiece like Andrew Lang's version of Theocritus, it seems rather dry, and wanting in such rhythmic beauty as is well within the reach of prose. Here the austerity of Dante seems to have fused with the austerity of the Norton stock to produce something more austere than either. Norton's version holds its own, however, with other prose versions of Dante.

Norton's teaching and writing about the fine arts soon became emancipated from the extreme of Ruskin's influence; the relation was reversed; and Ruskin rather looked upon his younger friend as his "tutor," recognizing in him a mental balance and a steadfastness that he knew to be wanting in himself. Norton, to be sure, retained the strongly ethical trend of his early days. He never achieved the economic precision of Henry Adams, who considers Chartres as releasing a certain quantity of force, like a railway just built, or a new coal mine. He never reached the degree of æsthetic detachment since attained by Bernard Berenson, who, when he is responding to spatial stimuli in a domed church, is inclined to ask "Why drag in religion?" For Norton the determining consideration is never just the effect of the work of art upon the percipient. What concerns him is the spirit of the artist, together with the spirit of national or civic movements which have produced great art; consequently his approach is historical and ethical;

and with Ruskin and Carlyle, he never ceases to be interested in the moral forces which they all believed to be at work in the rise and fall of states. This is the characteristic interest of his *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages: Venice, Siena, Florence* (1880).

On the other hand, Norton's emancipation from Ruskin's naturalism was absolute. Humanism is the note of all his later thought and of his influence upon his pupils. It has actuated in several ways a number of men now writing, a group which may perhaps be called "the new humanists," and which includes Paul Elmer More, Irving Babbitt, John Jay Chapman, and George Edward Woodberry. These all attend to one or another phase of the cleavage between man's way and nature's way—a dualism which, whether it cut between man and external nature, or between the "natural man" and the "spiritual man" within; whether it emphasize the "inner check" in any of its various modes, or, as against the naturalistic "education of the senses," commend to man the study of his own humane tradition,[1] and summon him to take up the racial torch and hand it on,—in any case places man's hope not upon what nature, whether within or without, may do for him, but upon his making himself more completely man.

[1] Norton was one of the founders (1879) of the Archæological Institute of America, which in turn established the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens (1881) and at Rome (1895) and which publishes *Bulletins* and the *American Journal of Archæology*. James Loeb, founder of the Loeb Classical Library, was a pupil of Norton.

CHAPTER XXVI

Patriotic Songs and Hymns

ALTHOUGH Americans have been a relatively untuneful people, popular song has never been inaudible since the beginning of our national life. Out of the steady succession of jaunty or sentimental melodies a few have been saved through their appropriation for patriotic ends. A larger body of hymns has survived in the traditions of public worship and through the conserving influence of the hymnals. A common religious feeling makes the appeal for the religious lyric; the corresponding motive for secular song is a wave of community enthusiasm; and patriotic zeal seldom becomes vocal except in times of actual or imminent national danger. A brief account of this double theme must be limited to the interpretation of established facts about songs that are sung, and must omit all purely literary lyrics; and where the facts as to origins of texts and melodies are in debate, the apparently best findings must be given without much argument.

Considered as expressions of popular feeling, patriotic songs are full of varied significance. The origin of the tunes is interesting; the question of a previous vogue and how it was attained; the question as to whether they were written for the words, or merely combined with them; the relation of the tunes to their musical periods; and their vocal quality. Corresponding points arise with reference to the words: in particular whether they were inspired by some occasion, or written on request; the circumstances in which they were produced; when and how they achieved national favour; and how far they have held it. The answers to these questions do not supply the material for any compact formula; they prove rather that the ages do not

exhaust, nor custom limit, the variety of ways for satisfying popular taste.

Yankee Doodle, for example, is full of surprises, inconsistencies, paradoxes in its career. It is not really a song, but it is a band tune which no existing adult audience has ever sung together. The single stanza known to everyone is not a part of the Revolutionary War ballad, but belongs to an earlier period in its history. The music is unheroic; the title ("a New England Noodle") is derogatory to the people who adopted it in spite of its ridicule. And yet it has become a piece of jovial defiance as stirring as *The Campbells Are Coming*. The melody, as has often been the case, was generally known for several years before it was turned to patriotic account. As early as 1764 the familiar quatrain was current in England, and by 1767 the tune was familiar enough in America to be cited in Barton's (or Colonel Forrest's) comic opera, *Disappointment, or The Force of Credulity*. In derision of the foolish Yankee there soon began to multiply variants, most of which have come down by hearsay, and are very vague as to date; but one was a broadside and attests in the title to its currency before April, 1775: *Yankee Doodle; or, (as now christened by the Saints of New England) the Lexington March. N.B. The Words to be Sung throu' the Nose, & in the West Country drawl and dialect.* The text of *The Yankee's Return from Camp*—the famous but forgotten version—is attributed to Edward Bangs, a Harvard student, and was written in 1775 or 1776. Tory derision did not cease with its appearance, and between the accumulating stanzas in rejoinder and those in supplement gave ground for the speech of "Jonathan" in Tyler's *The Contrast* of 1787: "Some other time, when you and I are better acquainted, I'll sing the whole of it—no, no, that's a fib—I can't sing but a hundred and ninety verses; our Tabitha at home can sing it all." In time, however, the words lost interest for all but antiquarians, so that the stanza in *The Songster's Museum* was literally true in 1826 as it is to-day:

Yankee Doodle is the *tune*
Americans delight in.
'Twill do to whistle, sing or play,
And just the thing for fighting.

The story of *Hail Columbia* is an almost complete contrast with that of *Yankee Doodle*, the chief point in common being that the music preceded the words. *The President's March*, probably composed by Philip Phile, a Philadelphia violinist, was popular in 1794 within a year of its production. In 1798 an actor, Gilbert Fox, applied to Joseph Hopkinson, accomplished son of the talented Francis, for a patriotic song adapted to *The President's March*, to be sung by Fox at a personal benefit performance, for which the prospects of a good house were discouraging. Hopkinson wrote in behalf of a unified country at a moment when, according to Freneau's *The Rival Suitors for America*, party claims were creating a dangerous rift through conflicting sympathies with France and England. *Hail Columbia*, as introduced by Fox, was a favourite from the start. It was encored a dozen times. It was repeated at other theatres, and on "circus nights." It was printed in *The Porcupine Gazette* three days later, 28 April, in the May number of *The Philadelphia Magazine*, in *The Connecticut Courant* of 7 May. "Soon no public entertainment was considered satisfactory without it"; and it has continued in use without textual change until the present day.

We owe *The Star Spangled Banner* to the existence of a long-popular melody and to the inspiration of a thrilling event—the British attack on Fort McHenry, 13 April, 1814. Words and music of *To Anacreon in Heaven*, constitutional song of the Anacreontic Society in London, were published in 1771. They became so beloved of all convivial souls that the words (with or without the music) were reprinted in twenty-one known magazines and song collections in England between 1780 and 1804, and the melody (with the original or adapted words) was printed no less than thirty times in America between 1796 and 1813. For this tune, in the thrill of the moment of discovery that "the flag was still there," Francis Scott Key began his version of the song "in the dawn's early light," sketched out the remainder on the way to land, copied it on arrival at his Baltimore hotel, and saw it in circulation as a broadside on the next day. At the outset it met with only moderate popularity, being omitted, as a universal favourite never could have been, from many important song books during the next twenty years. Not until the Civil War was it

widely accepted as a national anthem, and then came two more paraphrases in St. George Tucker's attempt to requisition it for the Confederacy in *The Southern Cross* and in Oliver Wendell Holmes's added stanza.

Here are three types, the common factor being that the music always provided the pattern for the words. *Yankee Doodle* was a sort of ballad, loaded on a music vehicle which has rolled through the decades without its burden. *Hail Columbia*, written for a march tune, was made public in propitious circumstances and achieved an immediate vogue, but is seldom sung today except to fill out a program. *The Star Spangled Banner*, set to an old convivial song, with a range that demands the exhilaration of the cup, has been granted long life on account of its official recognition; yet it successfully defies vocal assault by any mixed group. *America*, the fourth permanently national song, casually written in 1832 by the youthful S. F. Smith, was set to an English tune of ninety years' standing encountered in a German song book lent him by Lowell Mason. This, therefore, though simple and popular, was no more indigenous than *Yankee Doodle* or *The Star Spangled Banner*. In recognition of these facts an attempt was made in 1861 to elicit a national hymn by means of a public competition for a substantial prize. The committee of award accepted their duty with misgivings, reluctant "to assume the function of deciding for their fellow-citizens a question which it seemed to them could really be settled only by general consent and the lapse of time." Their fears were realized, and they exercised the right they had reserved to make no award.

In the meanwhile general consent was being given to a song and to a hymn which are more and more popular with the lapse of time. These are *Dixie* and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The original *Dixie* was composed on forty-eight hours' notice by Dan D. Emmett in September, 1859. He was then under contract with Bryant's Minstrels, New York, as musician and composer of "negro melodies and plantation walk-arounds." On a bleak northern Sunday he composed this "rush order" around the showman's autumnal and winter saying, "I wish I was in Dixie." The rollicking measure scored a natural success with every audience, and the sentiment reinforced its appeal in the South. Sung late in 1860 and early

in 1861 at New Orleans, it made an especially sensational "hit" and soon all the Confederate states rang with it.[1] On 30 April of that year *The Natchez Courier* printed Albert B. Pike's "Southrons, hear your country call you," a stirring lyric itself, but only a temporary substitute for the Emmett words, "I wish I was in de land ob cotton," the first stanza of which is known everywhere in America. Fanny J. Crosby's attempt to regain the tune for the North with her "On ye patriots to the battle" was wholly unsuccessful; the other Southern variants died away; Pike's version is now a literary memory; but Emmett's original words and music still bring people to their feet as no other song in America does. They stand in deference to the tradition of *The Star Spangled Banner*, but they rise to *Dixie* itself.

The melody for *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* has had quite the most varied career in the history of American patriotic song. It came into being as a Southern camp-meeting song early enough to have been included in Henry Ward Beecher's *Plymouth Collection* of 1852. With the organization of the 12th Massachusetts Infantry in 1861 two Maine men in the second battalion introduced to camp "Say brothers, will you meet us, On Canaan's happy shore?" To this melody the glee club of the unit evolved a set of verses half applied to one of their own members, a Scotch John Brown. When these words became the characteristic song of the regiment, the officers tried in vain to have the words applied to Ellsworth, the first Northern commissioned officer who had fallen in the War. Inevitably many new versions were composed on John Brown of Ossawatomie—by H. H. Brownell, Edna Dean Proctor, Charles Sprague Hall, and anonymous writers; and from these developed variants beyond recall. The hymn had become a war ballad of widest popularity; but the ballad was to be rehabilitated as a hymn again. This occurred when Julia Ward Howe, one of a party to visit the Army of the Potomac in December, 1861, was urged by James Freeman Clarke to dignify the chant with adequate words. Her attempt was christened by James T. Fields and appeared in the *Atlantic*, February, 1862, as *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The marked differences between these three lyrics show how vital

[1] See, also, Book III, Chap. III.

is the relation between words and music. The colourless, seven-syllabled, thrice-repeated line, "Say brothers, will you meet us," is plaintive, if not dreary, in effect. The eleven syllables of "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave," with their stronger vocal quality and their sinister suggestiveness, have a primitive folk-quality and a martial vigour. The iambic heptameters of "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord" rise to the elevation of a religious processional.

From the Civil War period the lapse of time and popular consent have elected to preserve a few other melodies, and incidentally the words attached to them, unless these have been displaced by later versions. George F. Root's *Battle Cry of Freedom* and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching*, Henry Clay Work's *Marching through Georgia*, and Patrick S. Gilmore's *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* are examples of original words and music[1]; and James R. Randall's *Maryland*,[2] of the successful setting of words to a favourite melody—this time the German *Tannenbaum*. But they are not genuinely national songs. *Maryland* belongs, of course, to a state; the others are all marching songs, widely played by bands, occasionally resorted to at "patriotic exercises," and kept alive chiefly by their use with special words in colleges, fraternities, and other social groups.

Since the Civil War there has been no significant addition to the anthology of patriotic song. The depressing years of Reconstruction, the general trend of industrial development, the tiding in of an enormous immigrant population, and the relaxing effect of the "magnificent isolation" and the "manifest destiny" illusions, were all disintegrating rather than unifying influences; and songs thrive only with group feeling. Even the Spanish War failed to inspire a lasting song, a fact which is intelligible in the light of the two most insistent memories from that conflict—resentment at the maladministration of the War Department and perplexity before the ominous problems of imperialism.

There is a temptation to generalize on the passing favourite song of the World War—*Over There*. It does not contain great music or any kind of poetry. It meets only one of the requirements laid down for the fruitless competition of 1861; it is

[1] See, also, Book III, Chap. II.

[2] See, also, Book III, Chap. III.

"of the simplest form and most marked rhythm, the words easy to be retained by the popular memory, and the melody and harmony such as may be readily sung by ordinary voices." In this respect George M. Cohan met the situation as Root and Work and Gilmore did fifty years ago, and, like them, he wrote music of the day. It belongs to the same public that delights in O. Henry, Walt Mason, Irvin S. Cobb, and Wallace Irwin, all in the main sane, wholesome, obvious people. It comes from Broadway, which supplies the populace with much of their fun. On the other hand *The Star Spangled Banner* belonged to the public of Francis and Joseph Hopkinson and John Copley and Gilbert Stuart. The artistic work of that day was well-turned and graceful; poetry and music lent themselves to dashes of magniloquent heroism and tender sentiment. The courtly traditions of manly strength, feminine grace, the cheering influence of the social glass, and a traditionally aristocratic point of view, were all implicit in them. What John Howard Payne's patron called "the desolating effects of democracy" he would say were registered in the loss of these echoed gentilities. The same loss is apparent in the course of American hymnology; but there is no reason for considering it more than a cheap and temporary price for benefits received and in store.

For various reasons no selection of American hymns can quite compare in certainty with the choice of patriotic songs. As expressions of religious feeling hymns belong to an unnational language, and the most excellent are sung without regard to authorship. The best American hymns have, therefore, to meet the challenge of the best from every other Christian source, and the process of grouping them together is arbitrary and local rather than logical. Moreover, the traditions of worship have been responsible for the iteration of a great deal of bathos, since the convenience of public worship has made the hymnal far more of an instrument than the song book in conserving words and music that ought to have gone to oblivion. Yet though the fields of secular and religious song are very different, the outstanding types and the drift of development are quite comparable.

Three hymns of Timothy Dwight, Ray Palmer, and Oliver

Wendell Holmes are broadly representative of tendencies up to 1860. Dwight's contribution, *I Love Thy Kingdom Lord*, belongs to the period of *Hail Columbia* (which is sometimes wrongly ascribed to him), and is involved in the theology of Jonathan Edwards, Dwight's grandfather. After the confusion of the second stanza,

> Her walls before Thee stand,
> Dear as the apple of Thine eye,
> And graven on Thy hand,

and after the Calvinistic prospect of death in the third, it rises to a tone of solemn and hopeful self-dedication; and, set to the eighteenth-century tune "St. Thomas," it becomes an austere but not unlovely choral. Palmer's *My Faith Looks up to Thee* (1830) is strictly orthodox in its theology, representing life as a vale of tears, a period of durance before an ultimate ransom; but in its way it has reinforced the faith of millions who are no less indebted to its sentiments than to Lowell Mason's rather sentimental "Olivet," which he composed for it and which perfectly fits it. Holmes's *Sun-Day Hymn*, better known as *Lord of All Being Throned Afar* (1859), is very properly described by one hymnologist as "always a favourite in gatherings . . . of different denominations and creeds" since it "admits of the widest doctrinal divergencies." The Professor at the Breakfast Table composed with this intent, prefacing his hymn with the hope that men would "forget for the moment the difference in the hues of truth we look at through our human prisms, and join in singing (inwardly) this hymn to the Source of the light we all need to lead us, and the warmth which alone can make us all brothers." And his hope has been more than fulfilled, for the hymn has not only found its adequate melody, but has transformed "Louvan" from the utterly saccharine thing it was when set to Bowring's *How Sweetly Flowed the Gospel Sound*. *The Sun-Day Hymn* belongs to the slender anthology of sacred songs that are indubitable poetry.

The theme of *My Faith Looks up to Thee* is the theme of Phœbe Cary's *One Sweetly Solemn Thought* (1852), which deserves far less congregational attention than it receives, as

Mrs. Stowe's beautiful *Still, Still with Thee, When Purple Morning Breaketh* (1855) deserves far more. Mrs. Stowe shook off the spell of the mortuary muse so that, though mindful of death, she was first concerned with a living faith. This faith is the burden, too, of Whittier's *Our Master* (1866), a devotional poem from which several hymns have been excerpted, the best known of which is the passage beginning

> We may not climb the heavenly steeps,
> To bring the Lord Christ down.

With this mid-century group arrived a new set of composers, such as Barnby and Dykes and Bradbury, whose music is a departure from the sturdy four-four rhythms of Lowell Mason's "Laban" or "Uxbridge" or "Hamburg." Their newer melodies tend to the use of three-four and six-four measures, and to consequent sweetness rather than vigour. They are attuned to the emotional appeals of the non-conformist pulpit rather than to the stately traditions of Rome or England. They mark the difference between Longfellow and Newman, or between Calkin's "Waltham" for Bishop Doane's *Fling out the Banner* and Sherwin's "Chautauqua" for Mary A. Lathbury's *Day is Dying in the West*, each a high example of its kind in the seventies. In other words, the new hymns, both text and music, were at one with the theology and the secular poetry of the day—fervent, aspiring, confident. The period could produce such triumphant songs as the Doane-Calkin *Fling out the Banner* or the Baring-Gould-Sullivan *Onward, Christian Soldiers* (the latter, of course, English), and such hymns of tenderness and serenity as those of Whittier and Lathbury already alluded to; but the pursuit of these inclinations led to the edge of a precipice.

For, unhappily, the influences at work in uniting the breadth and dignity of older song with the warmth and colour of the later generation led very easily from sentimental ornateness to tawdry sensationalism. The decline in hymn-writing from Bernard of Clairvaux by way of the Wesleys to Phœbe Cary, and in composition from the Gregorian chants via Lowell Mason and Bradbury to P. P. Bliss, reached the popular *descensus Averni* in the Moody and Sankey "gospel hymns." The banalities

of evangelistic song have not been offset by a corresponding output of finer and purer music; they have only been held in partial check by the restraining influence of the more excellent recent collections of "standard hymns" for public worship. Here the matter rests, and here it may rest until the influence of some great religious awakening leads to a new upwelling of religious song.

CHAPTER XXVII

Oral Literature

BOTH literary and historical interest attaches to the songs and rhymes which pass from region to region and from generation to generation in oral tradition. They have value as social documents. They reflect not only the fading life of the past, its events, its scenes, and its heroes, but the life of the society which inherits and so often transforms them. The great body of this floating literature consists of old ballads and songs, nursery jingles, game songs, and popular satires and sentimentalities. Occasionally such material exhibits a touch of real literary genius or of illuminating imagination; and these flashes of quality are eagerly sought for by the lover of poetry. Especially, such material affords opportunity to the critical student to study the literary instinct in its elementary expression. The main interest of oral literature is historical. From it may be seen how songs and verse tales develop, how themes and styles are transmitted from generation to generation, and from one region or land to another.

The mediæval ballads of England and Scotland have for their matter the adventures of lord or lady, the incidents of the hunt, clan feuds, the love affairs of the nobly born. They are frankly aristocratic. In later British balladry, these are succeeded by less ambitious pieces. Commonplace characters replace the aristocrats, paralleling the democratization of fiction and of the drama; and other styles succeed the minstrel style—much as Defoe's plebeian narratives, in homely setting, succeeded romances of knight errantry. Both types of song have been brought to America from the mother country; but alongside this imported material, types of indigenous song have developed. A rough classification of the poetic literature orally

current in the United States includes many groups. There are English and Scottish traditional ballads and songs, and Irish and pseudo-Irish ballads and songs. There are songs of the tragic death of the true love, and dying messages and confessions, some of these imported and some not. There are picturesque songs of pioneer and Western life, songs of criminals and outlaws, of soldiers and wars, of tragedies and disasters, and even of the lost at sea. Sentimental songs play an important rôle; and religious and moralizing songs, political campaign songs, humorous songs, negro and pseudo-negro and Indian songs, appear. And, finally there are sequence songs and rhymes, singing games, movement songs, nursery rhymes, and the like. All these belong to "folk-song." For songs are folk-songs if the people have liked them and preserved them—if they have "lived in the folk-mouth"—and if they have persisted in oral currency through a fair period of years. Questions of origin, quality, technique, or style, are secondary. Attempts at differentiating traditional songs into "popular songs," or songs made *for* the people, and "folk-songs," or songs made *by* the people, based on some hypothetical manner of origin or on the continuation of a mediæval style are undependable and unsafe. This has been demonstrated many times, when the origin of any body of folk-songs is subjected to study. Whatever has commended itself to the folk-consciousness and has established currency for itself apart from written sources is genuine folk-literature.

An early mention of popular song in America occurs in an entry in the diary of Cotton Mather for 27 September, 1713:

"I am informed, that the Minds and Manners of many people about the Countrey are much corrupted by foolish Songs and Ballads, which the Hawkers and Peddlars carry into all parts of the Countrey. By way of antidote, I would procure poetical Composures full of Piety, and such as may have a Tendency to advance Truth and Goodness, to be published, and scattered into all Corners of the Land. There may be an extract of some, from the excellent *Watt's* Hymns."

Doubtless many legendary and romantic ballads were brought from England by the colonists, but probably Mather's "foolish songs and ballads" did not refer to these but rather to convivial, sentimental, or humorous ditties, the street pieces

or broadsides popular in the mother country. These he would like to see replaced by religious and moralizing songs. Most songs, of either type, in the period before the Revolution, were probably imported, either orally or in broadside versions; but there were also historical pieces that were indigenous. Professor Tyler, writing in 1878, mentions as ballads popular in New England *The Gallant Church*, *Smith's Affair at Sidelong Hill*, and *The Godless French Soldier*. These pieces do not appear in printed collections, however, and, in general, little has been done in the way of an attempt to recover songs from the period before the Revolution. The oldest remaining historical ballad composed in America of which texts are available is *Lovewell's Fight*, recording a struggle with the Indians in Maine, 8 May, 1725. It was composed not long after the event, and was long popular in New England. A text reduced to print almost a century later begins:

What time the noble Lovewell came,
With fifty men from Dunstable,
The cruel Pequa'tt tribe to tame
With arms and bloodshed terrible.

Longfellow chose the same subject for his early poem *The Battle of Lovell's Pond*.

Greater effort has been made toward collecting songs and ballads of the Revolution, though the work should be done again more exhaustively and more critically. Frank Moore printed in 1856 a collection of verse, brought together from newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, and from the memory of surviving soldiers. Most of these pieces are semi-literary in character, to be sung to familiar tunes imported from England. That oftenest quoted as having the best poetical quality is *Nathan Hale.*[1] Many express the discontent of the colonists, and many are burlesques. Sometimes they were based on older pieces, as Major André's *The Cow Chace*, which is built on *The Chevy Chase*. Of better quality is *A Song for the Red-coats*, on the defeat of Burgoyne.

Give ear unto my story,
And I the truth will tell
Concerning many a soldier
Who for his country fell.

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

Some of the most popular pieces of the Revolutionary period, mostly satirical verses by known authors, have been treated in an earlier chapter.[1]

From the War of 1812 remain *James Bird*, a ballad of a hero shot for desertion, texts of which have drifted as far inland as the Central states, and a camp song in ridicule of General Packingham. Some verses beginning

> Then you sent out your Boxer to beat us all about;
> We had an enterprising Brig to beat the Boxer out,

and some stanzas preserved as a marching song for children—

> We're marching down to old Quebec
> While the drums are loudly beating—

may also date back this far. *The Texas Rangers*, widely current through the South and the West, and modelled on the British *Nancy of Yarmouth*, sounds like an echo of the fight with the Mexicans at the Alamo in 1835.

Songs surviving from the Civil War are frequently sentimental in character, like *When this Cruel War is Over* and *The Blue and the Gray*.[2] These are of traceable origin, yet they have passed widely into oral tradition. There were numerous camp songs on sieges or battles, but these have not shown vitality. Best remembered in popular literature from the time of the Civil War are many negro, or rather pseudo-negro songs, given diffusion by the old-time itinerant negro minstrels. Many are the work of composers like Stephen C. Foster[3] or Henry C. Work.[4] These persist in popular memory side by side with songs like *Juanita* or *Lorena*, or the later *After the Ball*. Every collector of folk-song comes upon pieces of this type far oftener than upon songs commemorating battles or political events. In similar manner, the popular song given currency by the Cuban War, *A Hot Time in the Old Town To-night*, modelled on a Creole song, does not reflect directly the war that "floated" it. Nor do the songs universalized for England and America by the war of 1914—*Tipperary*, *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, *Over There*, *The Long, Long Trail*—commemorate its leading events.

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.
[2] See Book III, Chaps. II. and III.
[3] See Book III, Chap. V.
[4] See Book III, Chap. II.

In general, as over against sentimental, romantic, or adventure pieces, ballads dealing with historical events or important movements occupy but a small corner in American popular song. *Captain Kidd* has retained currency in New England and in the West, and the collector still comes at times upon ballads of the British highwayman, Dick Turpin. Some widely diffused songs, their authorship and origin now lost, which reflect emigrant and frontier life, especially the rush for gold in 1849, are *Joe Bowers*, *Betsy from Pike*, and *The Days of Forty-Nine*. *Pretty Maumee* possibly echoes relations with the Miami Indians. *The Dreary Black Hills* reflects the mining fever of one period of Western history; and there are other sectional satires, like *Cheyenne Boys*, *Mississippi Girls*, or humorous narratives or complaints, like *Starving to Death on a Government Claim*. The best-known pieces reflecting pioneer or prairie life are *O Bury Me not on the Lone Prairie*, and *The Dying Cowboy*, or *The Cowboy's Lament*, both of which are adaptations. The latter especially has roamed very far, as will be seen later, and exists in many varying texts, with changed localizations. These pieces have currency chiefly in the Far West and in the Central West. Nor are political campaign songs long-lived; like historical songs, songs mirroring transient phases of national life are likely to fade early.

Interest in orally preserved verse in the United States has centred hitherto mostly in English and Scottish romantic and legendary narrative pieces, or traditional ballads, emigrants from the Old World. Imported songs of other character and verse stories indigenous to America have had less attention. Here, as in England, the pieces which have been singled out as worthy of recovery and study are chiefly those of the type collected and preserved in Professor Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. They are likely to have the longer history, and, in their Old World form, higher poetical quality; and there is more mystery concerning their origin. Attempts have been made to register the number emigrating to, and surviving in America, to note their geographical distribution, and to watch what has happened to them.

Some narrative poems or songs of the type collected by Professor Child were no doubt brought over in the colonial period by emigrants, or by sailors, or returned travellers, and

the process of importation from England has not yet entirely ceased. In almost any community some new arrival from the Old World may bring over an old song; though as time passes the chance for survival grows less. The communities richest in these pieces are, as might be anticipated, the North Atlantic and the Southern; that is, the older, not the more newly settled sections of our country. At present, representatives of nearly eighty of the three hundred and five ballads, or lyric-tales, included in the collection of Old World pieces by Professor Child have been salvaged in the United States, besides many not included in his collection, some of which he may not have known. They come from New England, from the Middle Atlantic, North Central, Western, and Southwestern states, and from the Southern mountains. Some of the most popular of these traditional pieces, their popularity varying in varying regions, are *Barbara Allen's Cruelty*, which leads in geographical distribution and in number of variants, *Lord Lovel*, *The Two Sisters*, *The Two Brothers*, *The House Carpenter*, *Young Beichan*, *The Wife of Usher's Well*, and *Lord Randal*—who appears as Johnny Randall in Colorado, Jimmy Randall in Illinois, Jimmy Ransing in Indiana, Johnny Ramble in Ohio, and Jimmy Randolph in North Carolina. Sentimental ballads are well represented, among these emigrants from the Old World, and ballads of romantic tragedy and adventure. A riddle ballad remains, *The Cambric Shirt*, deriving from *The Elfin Knight*, and in *Little Harry Hughes*, from the Old World *Sir Hugh*, a relic of the mediæval superstitions concerning the Jews; and there are some sea narratives. Heroic ballads, or local or border ballads, have not found diffusion in the New World.

These traditional pieces find their best chance for survival in outlying, isolated, or secluded regions, those least invaded by modern songs or song modes. Sometimes city dwellers remember and hand them on; but for the most part they are best sought for in mountain districts or in rural communities in the South and East, and on isolated farms or ranches in the West. The Southern Appalachians are peculiarly rich in the preservation of Old World ballads. Sometimes traditional ballads remain, in degenerate form, as nursery songs, where adults have no longer cared to preserve them; examples are *Lamkin*, *Lord Randal*, *The Two Brothers*. Usually these transplanted pieces are sung

to a variety of tunes. The text and the melody brought from the Old World occasionally survive together; but, on the whole, one text holds to one air with little regularity. Despite its fluctuations and the variant forms it assumes, the text of a ballad remains more constant and is more easily identified than the air. Nevertheless it is the singing which tends to keep ballads alive. The words and the music are recalled together by the singers. The music and the text help to preserve each other. Where comparison is possible between the melodies of the American pieces and their Old World originals, it shows that the tendency is constantly toward greater simplicity in the New World derivatives. This is true also when ephemeral popular airs of the day are taken up by the people and persist in folk-song. Like the songs which are emigrants they tend toward simplification in transmission.

Many Old World songs and ballads now having oral currency in the United States have passed through the medium of print, and owe something of their diffusion to broadsides and songbooks, or to rural newspapers. When ballads are reduced to print, they are not "killed" but have a better chance to survive; and the same is true when they have been transcribed in manuscript books. Most of the ballads included in the Child collection were preserved in broadsides or printed sources, or in manuscripts, and the same agencies have helped to perpetuate these songs when they reach the New World. The life of ballads is not ended by their reduction to print or to writing, but they are likely to receive new tenure therefrom.

Various things happen in America to these Old World emigrants. Occasionally they are preserved pretty exactly. A few lose compactness and are lengthened by repetition, iteration, or garrulous protraction, sometimes from the example of other songs, or they cross outright with other songs. More often they are shortened. Passages are forgotten until hardly recognizable fragments remain. Moralizing banalities drop out. Frequently ballads become disordered, one well-known piece blending with another; and a new amalgam song may arise. And sometimes they cross with songs of recent origin, lending a few stanzas to assimilated street songs of unmistakably modern composition. The more vulgar and repugnant elements tend to disappear, and also the supernatural elements. In *The House Carpenter*, the

returned lover becomes a living lover, not a ghost; and in some versions of *The Farmer's Curst Wife*, the devil disappears. Characteristically they take on modern elements, substituting the known for the unknown, and accommodating their personal names, and their localizations. One, *The Farmer's Curst Wife*, just mentioned, has drifted to Texas, and has taken to itself classification as a cowboy song. *The Two Brothers*, in a Nebraska version, seems well on the way toward becoming a Western song.

> "O what shall I tell your true love, John,
> If she inquires for you?"
> "O tell her I'm dead and lying in my grave,
> Way out in Idaho."

Popular tradition dims the romantic elements. Lords lose their nobility and become ordinary citizens. Kings and princesses and ghosts are made over into the singer's own kind of people. The narrative loses its reflection of the original surroundings, and assumes altered character. And, in both imported and indigenous pieces, serious events or sentiments are often vulgarized or made commonplace, till the originally earnest survives only in farce.

The general trend is toward degradation, not improvement, by the process of oral preservation and transmission. This may be seen when there is comparison of a body of New World texts *en masse* with the texts printed by Professor Child. There is no improvement in the narrative element—though some theorists hold that communal preservation brings epic development—nor are artistic sequences and climaxes evolved, unless where an inferior piece crosses with a better. In communities where the style of English and Scottish pieces has best maintained itself, new songs assimilate themselves to this style, in rare instances, and assume some of the mannerisms of the English and Scottish ballads, like the "legacy" motive, or the "climax of relatives"—mannerisms, on the whole, of the later Old World ballads rather than the earlier. More often, however, these distinctive mannerisms, when inherited, become lost. Communal preservation and re-creation, in the New World, tends, not to improve inherited ballads or to increase the presence of these ballad mannerisms, but to obscure or obliterate them.

The Old World songs having on the whole the best chance to survive are those which tell some tragic story, or contain some strongly marked formula. The same is true of parallel indigenous verse. The short song telling a story, in particular a tragic story, has the best chance of vitality. Whatever else drops out, the death, or the immediate event bringing it, lingers in the memory. The moving or the striking in subject matter, and the familiar or conventional in style, are likeliest to persist.

Beside the imported romantic and legendary ballads, many songs and song-tales on the themes of broadside balladry of the last two centuries in England have currency in the United States, often in such disguised or modified form that their origin is no longer recognizable. Of this character is *The Butcher Boy*, whose forsaken sweetheart hangs herself—a ballad related to the British *A Brisk Young Lover;* also *The Boston Burglar*, or *Charlie's Town*—related to *The Sheffield Apprentice.* To this same group belongs probably the "confessions" of *Young McAffie*, who poisoned his wife and her baby. *The Dying Cowboy*, despite its name, is ultimately imported. Still older is the ballad of the maidservant *Betsy Brown*, who is "sold to Verginny" by her mistress. An instructive instance of the migration of a song is offered by *The Romish Lady*, a story of a Protestant martyr, having considerable currency in the Central West.

There lived a Romish lady
  Brought up in proper array.
Her mother oft times told her
  She must the priest obey.

This is the Elizabethan ballad "It was a lady's daughter, of Paris properly," introduced into Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle.* It was reprinted in the reign of Charles II, and is to be found among the *Roxburgh Ballads.*

It was a lady's daughter,
  of Paris properly;
Her mother her commanded
  to Mass that she should hie.

The American texts show simplification in transmission, but remain strikingly faithful to the original narrative.

Most of the later imported pieces show, like the earlier,

inclination for romantic pathos or tragedy, or for sentimental story. Several tell of the return of a lover, as *The Banks of Claudy*, or of a girl who follows her lover. Others tell of a girl whom her lover lures away and kills. A striking piece of wide diffusion and of Old World provenance is *The Drowsy Sleeper*, known as *The Bedroom Window*, *Willie and Mary*, etc.

"O Mary dear, go ask your father
If you my wedded bride may be;
And if he says nay then come and tell me,
And I no more will trouble thee."

"O Willie dear, I dare not ask him,
For he is on his bed of rest,
And by his side there lies a dagger
To pierce the one that I love best."

Robbin, Bobbin, Richard, and John, or *The Wren Shooting* is a St. Stephen's Day song, from the Isle of Man. Other pieces connected with British folk-song, some of them lingering only as songs for children, are *Father Grumble*, or *Old Grumbly*, etc., who thinks "he can do more work in a day than his wife can do in three," *The Children in the Wood*, *Billy Boy*, *The Frog and the Mouse*, and many nursery rhymes. Of modern importation and widely current because used as a party song is the Irish *William Reilly* or *The Coolen Bawn*. Ritual songs hardly occur in the United States; for instance Harvest Home songs, carols, springtime and Mayday songs. Ritual observances have not been transplanted.

Aside from the historical pieces enumerated earlier, there are now many short narrative pieces, orally preserved, and apparently authorless, which may fairly be called indigenous ballads. Already, they are marked, to an instructive degree, by fluctuation of text, variant versions, and local modifications and additions. Most of them have a direct unsophisticated note, and some show traces of rude power. An example of an indigenous ballad is *Young Charlotte*, who was frozen to death at her lover's side, on her way to a ball.

Spoke Charles, "How fast the freezing ice
Is gathering on my brow."
Young Charlottie then feebly said
"I'm growing warmer now."

This ballad is current through the Middle West, and has been recovered as far southwest as Texas, owing, apparently, nothing of its circulation to print. Phillips Barry has shown that it was composed at Bensontown, Vermont, as far back as 1835. Another piece which has roamed everywhere is *Springfield Mountain*, the story of a young man mowing hay who was "bitten by a pizen serpent" and died. W. W. Newell was able to trace the history of this piece to New England composition in the late eighteenth century. Of unknown origin but of equally wide diffusion is *Poor Lorella*, who was killed by her lover, and lies down under the weeping willow:

> Down on her knees before him
> She pleaded for her life;
> But deep into her bosom
> He plunged the fatal knife.

This is known also as *The Weeping Willow*, *Poor Floella*, *Floe Ella*, *Lurella*, *Lorla*, *Loretta*, *The Jealous Lover*, *Pearl Bryn*, etc. Also of unknown origin and also tragic is *The Silver Dagger*. *Jesse James* claims sympathy for its outlaw hero, an American Robin Hood. *The Death of Garfield* reflects moralizing delight in a criminal's repentance, a stock motive. *Fuller and Warren* tells of a fatal quarrel between rival lovers; *Casey Jones* of a fatal railroad run. From the standpoint of the New World, ballad-making is not a "closed account." Probably there will always be a body of short narrative pieces, their authorship and origin lost, preserved in outlying regions. They will shift in style, for there is a history of taste for folk-poetry as there is for book-poetry; but they will ever be behind contemporary song-modes by a generation or more. These are genuine ballads—unless there is insistence on some communal-mystic origin for what may be termed a ballad, or on the preservation of a mediæval song style. The mediæval song style is the more memorable, because it dated from a time when singing was nearly universal, and when songs were composed for the ear, not for the eye; but it may not logically be insisted upon as a test of what is genuine balladry and what is not.

There have been many helps to diffusion of popular pieces in this country as in England. Fairs or circuses at which broadsides or sheet music were offered for sale have served as

agencies of diffusion, and so have itinerant vendors and entertainers of all kinds. Songs learned at school and in childhood stay in the memory with especial tenacity. Country newspapers have reprinted many well-cherished pieces, later pasted into scrapbooks. Even city newspapers like the Boston *Transcript* and the Boston *Globe* have "folk exchanges" which have preserved many good texts. And now, as before the days when print was so common, song lovers copy their favourite texts into manuscript books. Pepys testified to his pleasure at hearing an actress, Mrs. Knipp, sing "her little Scotch song of Barbara Allen"—perhaps the début of this song; and the stage star still remains a great agent in popularization. So do wandering concert troups and minor singers of many types. The once popular negro minstrels helped to universalize many pseudo-negro songs, and real negro singers, like the Jubilee singers and the Hampton Institute singers, have kept alive many songs. A striking text or a tuneful melody, given some impetus in diffusion, lingers when its history has been forgotten. *After the Ball* and *Two Little Girls in Blue*, popular stage songs of the 1890's—the first sung all over the country in the farce *A Trip to China Town*—are heard no longer in the cities, but they are still vigorous in village communities and on Western ranches.

The name "American ballads" is now often applied to a body of cowboy, lumbermen, and negro songs, recovered. chiefly by John A. Lomax, in Texas, New Mexico, Montana, and other States. These make when brought together an interesting and picturesque display. They reflect the life, tastes, narrative themes, and metrical modes of the singers. Cowboy life is "communal," and it is vivid, full of incident, and exciting. The cowboy pieces, despite their prevailing crudity, have a certain force and breeziness.

> I'm a rowdy cowboy just off the stormy plains,
> My trade is girting saddles and pulling bridle reins.
> O I can tip the lasso, it is with graceful ease;
> I can rope a streak of lightning, and ride it where I please.

The mass of cowboy songs, so-called, including probably that just quoted, is not, however, of cowboy creation, the result of group improvisation, but rather of cowboy adoption or adap-

tation, homogeneous as they seem. The few indigenous pieces, attested as of cowboy origin, are the most negligible and the weakest. They have little or no narrative element, are songs rather than ballads, have won no diffusion, and hold no promise of reaching better form or of assuming real ballad structure. The majority of the songs represent assimilated material, made over until the characters and the events conform to the horizon of the singers. In general, material from all sources, once in the stream of popular tradition, tends to accommodate itself to the modes and the tastes of the community that preserves it. It is instructive to analyse the cowboy pieces, as a group, for the light that is thrown on the songs of a new community and on the processes of folk-song.

Young Charlotte has been referred to as composed early in the nineteenth century in New England. *Rattlesnake—A Ranch-Haying Song* is a stuttering farce version of the New England *Springfield Mountain*. *The Cowboy's Lament*, known also as *The Dying Cowboy*, is a plainsman's adaptation of *An Unfortunate Rake*, current in Ireland as early as 1790. Its origin is reflected in the absurd request for a military funeral retained in the chorus:

> O beat the drum slowly and play the fife lowly,
> Play the Dead March as you carry me along;
> Take me to the graveyard, there lay the sod o'er me,
> For I'm a young cowboy and I know I've done wrong.

Bury Me not on the Lone Prairie is an adaptation of *Ocean Burial*, by W. H. Saunders. *The Little Old Sod Shanty on My Claim* is an adaptation of Will S. Hays's *The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane*. *Bonnie Black Bess*, *Fair Fannie Moore*, *Rosin the Bow*, *The Wars of Germany* are from the Old World. *The Old Man under the Hill* is a Child piece. *The Railroad Corral* was composed by J. M. Hanson, and originally published in an Eastern periodical. *The Ride of Billy Venero* is made over from Eben E. Rexford's *Ride of Paul Venarez*, first published in *The Youth's Companion*, and once a popular declaiming piece. *Home on the Range* was a popular parlour song, while *From Markentura's Flowery Marge* reflects the flowery sentimental day of American poetry. *The Boston Burglar* and *McAffie's Confession* are derivatives of Old World ballads; and *Jesse James*,

Betsy from Pike, *The Days of Forty-nine*, *Fuller and Warren* are not of cowboy origin but immigrated from other States. *I'm a Good Old Rebel* is *Unreconstructed*, the composition of Innes Randolph, who wrote for *The Baltimore American*. Even the few rough improvisations which seem to have come from the cowboys themselves are largely built on or reminiscent of some well-known model and are fitted to some well-known melody. They are creations in a qualified sense only. For instance, *Whoopee-Ti-Yi-Yo*, *Git along Little Dogies* owes its form to *The Cowboy's Lament*, the origin of which has been mentioned, and it is sung to the same melody as its Old World original. The influence of Irish "Come-all-ye's" and of death-bed confession pieces is pretty strong on the cowboy songs as a whole.

The term "American ballads" is better applied, not to the small, structureless and nearly characterless group of cowboy songs which may be genuinely of cowboy improvisation, but to ballads of the type exemplified by *Springfield Mountain*, *Young Charlotte*, *Poor Florella*, *The Young Man who Wouldn't Hoe Corn*, *Jesse James*. It is these which form the truer analogues of the oral legendary and romantic song-tales of England and Scotland.

Still another type of orally preserved verse appears in ring games, on the grass or in the parlour, "Play-party" songs, so-called, and in the singing games of children. The latter are now assuming a certain degree of stability or uniformity, owing to the printing of traditional songs for children in books of games, from which they are taught to pupils in the primary grades at school. "Play-party" games of young people are not yet quite extinct, though they are becoming so. They are typically dances, except that the participants move to the rhythm of singing, not to the accompaniment of some musical instrument. The words of the texts are more unstable, and the songs more structureless than in songs and ballads proper, and they are even more subject to local changes and improvisations. Game-songs with strong formulæ of some kind are likeliest to retain vitality, because most easily remembered; the formula remains constant if nothing more. Collection of such songs has been made by W. W. Newell for New England, and by many collectors for the Central West. Some well-known examples of

game-songs, most of them imported from the Old World, are *Weevilly Wheat, Juniper Tree, Skip to My Lou, The Needle's Eye, Happy is the Miller, We're Marching Round the Levy;* some favourite game-songs of the Central West are *Bounce Around, We'll All Go Down to Rowser's, Pig in the Parlour.* Beside traditional pieces and those of obscure origin, modern songs of all kinds have been utilized in play-party games: minstrel songs—as *Old Dan Tucker, Angelina Baker, Jim Along Jo, Buffalo Gals*—and the popular street songs, *Nelly Gray, Little Brown Jug, John Brown's Body, Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines.* The modern pieces are likeliest to escape mutilation, at least so long as they retain currency as separate songs. Even hymns, scraps of glee club songs, and Mother Goose rhymes are sometimes utilized to form accompaniments to dances. New stanzas are welcomed, and local adaptations, irrelevant or facetious. Judging from recorded material, communal utilization and preservation of a song as a dance song does not bring improvement, nor does it bring development of a narrative element. The refrain formula, that element which shows greatest fluctuation in traditional ballads like the Child ballads, is the most stable element in traditional dance songs.

Other "floating" matter entering obviously by immigration like so many folk-songs and dance songs, and owing its existence to oral tradition, includes counting-out rhymes, flower oracles, skipping-rope rhymes, rhyming proverbs, or aphorisms, saws, weather lore, plant and animal lore, and good and bad luck signs. These belong, however, rather to folk-lore than to literature.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Popular Bibles

I. The Book of Mormon

THE Book of Mormon is a curiosity of literature. It is evidently an effort to reconstruct in archaic language the Hebraic age and to project by a special process some of its characters into nineteenth-century life, as well as to place the civilization they represent in an American setting. Just as Chatterton appealed to those interested in a Gothic revival, Joseph Smith, for whom the claim is made that the Book of Mormon was revealed to him in 1827, assumed a permanence of interest in the verbalism of the Old Testament. He also appealed to those who were curious about American antiquities, speculative about the lost Ten Tribes reported by tradition to have found their way to the New World, and eager both to excavate prehistoric mounds and to decipher the picture writings of the Aborigines.

Without professing that the Book is a substitute for the Bible, such authoritative interpreters as Professor James E. Talmage, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church, does call it "a parallel volume of Scripture," and claims that "the Nephite and the Jewish Scriptures are found to agree in all matters of tradition, history, doctrine, and prophecy upon which both the separate records treat." It is distinctly stated that "America was settled by the Jaredites, who came direct from the scenes of Babel," that the Aborigines also came from the East, and were followed by peoples at least closely allied to the Israelites, that the existing native races of America were born of a common stock, and that the so-called historical part of the Book of Mormon has adequate testimony to its claims.

The Jaredites, extinct by 590 B.C., are thus reported to have occupied both North and South America for about 1850 years. Then came Lehi and his company to this continent to develop into segregated nations, Nephites and Lemanites; the former disappearing about 385 A.D., the latter degenerating into the Indians of a century ago.

In consequence the Book of Mormon becomes an effort to transplant Hebraic traditions, though scholarship takes no such hegira seriously, and the volume depends for its validity on evidence and assertion presented by itself and accepted only by those convinced by the same. To "Gentiles" objecting to any new revelation beyond the Bible, the Book of Mormon, offering itself as proof that it is valid, reports Jesus as saying, "Wherefore murmur ye, because that ye shall receive more of my word?"

The Book was launched at a moment favorable to its acceptance by a certain type of the well-meaning but unschooled. The modern interpretation of the Bible had not begun. Literalism was still in the saddle. Books such as *Lux Mundi* had not appeared. Matthew Arnold was not yet startling the conventional with his counsel to rest heavily on some things in the Bible, on others lightly. The revisers of the King James version, were still a half century from their work which was to be followed by successive revisions until every little while sees a new translation of at least the New Testament. It is with such a background that the man of modern training approaches the Bible, and to him the Book of Mormon seems something born out of due season.

Again, when Joseph Smith received in 1827—as the Book affirms—the "Golden Plates" first published in 1830, the New World, particularly west of the Alleghanies, was plunging into various religious extravagances, the wonders which the withdrawing frontier spread before the pioneer were on many a tongue, the origin of the Indians was a live issue, and wiseacres here and there identified them with the lost tribes. It was a day when men still dreamed of and dug for treasures buried by Spaniards or by Kidd. The Masonic-Morgan mystery and the Fox sisters found in Western New York a local habitation and people were still alive there who recalled the "Jerusalem" of Jemima Wilkinson. Mesmerism and the miraculous were of

common interest, and here and there community of property and even person was a mooted topic.

In the Book of Mormon we shall look in vain for more than is already found, at least in spirit, in the Scriptures. Its teachings are in general in surprisingly close accord with the outstanding teachings of the Bible. The doctrines both of pre-existence and of perfection are reiterated, if not emphasized. Continuity beyond the grave of relationships begun here is preached. No suggestion is made of polytheism, and polygamy is expressly forbidden. Stress is laid on the second coming of the Lord, which the Millerites, in their white robes by thousands, gathered one day on the banks of the Schuylkill to witness only to be disappointed and chagrined. "No idea was so absurd," as Schouler, the historian, writing of the time has said, "or so visionary that one might not hope to found a school or sect upon it in this new American society, if only he seemed to be in earnest."

To understand today the Book of Mormon one must take into account the environment in which it came to light, the type of men responsible for its origin and for the organization created in its name, and the accretions, interpretations, and history soon to follow its publication.

Joseph Smith, sprung of parents reported to be specially responsive to local conditions, said in 1838 that on the night of September 21, 1823, at his home in Manchester, near Canandaigua, New York, the angel Moroni three times appeared to him with a revelation of "Golden Plates" buried on Cumorah Hill, and that on September 22, 1827, in accordance with instructions, he dug up the same, and found them covered with small, mystic characters "of the Reformed Egyptian style"—as Professor Talmage hints. It was a time when people were still talking of the Rosetta Stone, when travelling showmen were exhibiting mummies, and when the Egyptian style was affecting the public taste, even in some housebuilding.

With the aid of a pair of crystal spectacles, his "Urim and Thummim," which Smith said he found, and with the co-operation of certain kindred spirits, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer by name, whose services were the more valuable because Smith seemed expert neither in reading nor

in writing, in 1830 the Book of Mormon was published, and the angel Moroni, according to the narrative, then took away the "Golden Plates." This is the story the Mormons tell of the origin of their Book, and those will accept its authenticity who without challenge are willing to accept the testimony of the four witnesses supplemented in part by the testimony of eight more, three of whom were Smiths, not including Mrs. Joseph Smith, who opposed the publication of the Book. By those accustomed to consider historical evidence it will perhaps be kept in mind that of only Joseph Smith have we more important knowledge than the mention of their names, and that he was the party most concerned.

From such a questionable beginning Mormonism has grown —as a standard historian admits—into "an extraordinary force." The latest report, dated May 3, 1921, from the official headquarters in Salt Lake City, states that there are now 900 Latter Day settlements, many of importance, that representatives of the faith have made a world-wide reputation as superior colonizers of good character, that great progress has been made in education, that 1933 of their missionaries are now carrying the message at their own expense to many quarters of the globe, that their book, now published in fifteen languages, has run into "the hundreds of thousands," and that they are represented in Congress and for their good works have been recognized abroad.

Although no sect in all our history has had so much conscientious, determined, and intelligent opposition, to plead that they are persecuted is no final word with which the Mormons can close controversy. The fault is not altogether with the Book, which undeniably teaches much that is definitely Christian, supplemented, unhappily, by other things that later gave immediate offence and still keep many an honest judgment in suspense.

Joseph Smith could not let well enough alone. After claiming that Moroni, God, Christ, John the Baptist, Elijah, and others in their very person appeared before him to confirm his amazing revelation, he was unwise enough to add to it, in 1843, a revelation, published officially in 1852, of polygamy. This aroused public opinion everywhere against the sect, which, also because of other difficulties, was kept wandering in

frequent collision with neighbours and others till the final settlement in Utah.

The story of these successive clashes with "Gentiles" and the Government has significance in interpretation of the Book of Mormon only as it indicates the exercise of a power which the Book itself at least allows and the growing determination of the American people to have done with polygamy. Finally in the constitution of the State of Utah, dated 1896, it was stipulated that "polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited." Charges have since been made in reputable journals that good faith has not been kept, but even Ex-Senator Cannon, sometime high in Latter Day Councils writing a few years ago, says it is the leaders who were guilty, not the Mormon people, whom he describes "as gentle as the Quakers, as staunch as the Jews."

The Book itself provides for a complicated hierarchy with a President—"Seer, Translator, Prophet"—having great authority and supported by two counsellors, the three regarded as successors to "Peter, James, and John," symbolizing the Trinity and perpetuating the priesthood of Melchizedek. There are besides a patriarch and twelve apostles, forming an itinerant high council, and authorized to ordain elders, priests, and deacons, to conduct religious meetings and to administer the sacraments. There are also "Seventies" who serve as missionaries and propagandists, "high priests" to take the places when necessary of those above them, and below all such of the order of Melchizedek there is the Aaronic priesthood usually occupied with temporal concerns.

Not to the Book of Mormon providing this elaborate hierarchy, but to the hierarchy itself which has not always recognized that

"New occasions teach new duties,"

is due much that affronts "Gentiles."

The Book differs in its spirit little from the Bible. The Latter Day Saints, in or out of the hierarchy, who in great numbers try to live up to the teachings of the Bible and the Book, live simple, godly lives of love and faith and hope. But they are themselves an argument against their Book. By their daily

conduct they testify that there is no need for their volume. The spirit the Bible inculcates meets human needs wherever there are human souls. To reveal a special Bible for each people in the world would seem to deny the unity of human experience and the universality of human brotherhood.

With Christians, in spite of the same Bible divided into sects agreeing about the essentials, differing only in details of doubtful exegesis or of organization, to see the Latter Day Saints—a half million strong—both using a new Book they claim to be revealed besides the Bible, and in a democratic age evolving a hierarchy projected by a special revelation, harking back to ancient times, in no sense born of modern experience in Church or State, diverts attention from the common interest of Christendom, makes co-operation difficult with those who think no special Bible needed for the western world, and tends to postpone the coming of that day when world peace will be secured by "one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity."

II. Science and Health

As the Book of Mormon describes the hegira of an adventurous folk moving by successive stages from the East to the Salt Lake Valley, so *Science and Health* marks the pilgrimage of a group of seekers after health and truth from an idealism, at first indeterminate and amorphous, up to a unique religiousness challenging modern medicine, and that *odium theologicum* which is largely responsible for the multiplication of denominations dividing Christendom, at a time when in union only is there strength.

The founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, was born at Bow, New Hampshire, a hundred years ago, when the news was coming overseas that Napoleon was dead at last in his island prison house. Always a New Englander, never widely travelled, Mrs. Eddy spent her early years in an environment surcharged with interest in the mystical. Clairvoyance, spiritualism, mesmerism, transcendentalism, kaleidoscopic alike in brilliant colouring and rapid changes, were the talk of cross-roads and farm-house on many a New England granite hill and in many a river valley.

Mesmer was both discredited and dead, but mesmerists still abounded everywhere and put money in their purses. In some places where Mrs. Eddy lived in her early years, Charles Poyen was garrulous about the "Power of Mind over Matter," and in 1837 actually published his book on "Animal Magnetism in New England." Grimes and Dods, Stone and Andrew Jackson Davis taught and practised so assiduously that all New England marvelled at what looked like miracles and gossiped interminably about phenomena, which psychical specialists on either side the ocean have lately in many instances more lucidly explained.

Only five miles from the place where Mrs. Eddy lived from her fifteenth to her twenty-second year, the Shakers at Canterbury were still under the spell of their aggressive leader, Ann Lee, who had died some time before, but of whom her followers still spoke as "Mother," the "divine spiritual intuition representing the Mother in Deity," "the type of God's Motherhood," "the female Christ," "the Father-Mother God."

Meanwhile in 1832, Emerson, twenty-nine years old, had visited at Craigenputtock the compelling Carlyle and had been profoundly moved by his magniloquent and thundering announcement that "God is in every man," at a time when Newman at Oxford with mellifluous words was assuring Anglicans that "Admit a God, and you introduce among the subjects of your knowledge a fact encompassing, closing in upon, absorbing every other fact conceivable."

When Emerson returned to Boston he was already saturated with the immanence of God and all but lost in the Oversoul of pantheism. Not altogether with his approbation, transcendentalism was born and speedily became a cult too often so grotesquely expounded by the eccentric, that without actual abandonment of its fundamental principles, he once designated it as "the saturnalia, or excess of faith."

A. Bronson Alcott made himself—as many were to find—its "tedious archangel." To transcendentalism—as he explained it—he attached his peculiar views on "vegetarianism" and his well-known opposition to all drugs at a time when the practice of medicine, when not guesswork ameliorated by the saving grace of common sense, was often the placebo mechanically administered or the blood-letting, which for a

while was dangerously near to winning, without reason, repute of a cure-all. In his pale and hazy manner, Alcott went about New England lecturing in "orphic sayings" on things which neither he nor anyone else understood. Once in his last years he spoke in Lynn, it is reported, before one of Mrs. Eddy's classes formed not earlier than 1870, when she was beginning definitely to hammer out on the stout anvil of an unyielding will her vision never afterwards to fade that "There is no life, truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter. All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all. Spirit is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and man is His image and likeness. Therefore man is not material; he is spiritual." (*Science and Health*, p. 468.)

How far Mrs. Eddy was influenced specifically by Alcott, at a time when transcendentalism was the very breath of life to many in and near Boston, there is no way to determine in the light of the careful study made of her, when suddenly, some fifteen years ago, Christian Science became the cynosure of all eyes, friendly and unfriendly, and secured more space on the printed page each day than any other religious interest.

One fact, however, is indisputable. The greatest influence in the formative period of Mrs. Eddy's life came, when after various unfortunate experiences, ever on the verge of that invalidism to which personalities have frequently been subject when possessed by dominating and original ideas from Socrates, Mahomet, and Tasso to Schopenhauer and Beethoven, Mrs. Eddy sought the then famous P. P. Quimby, who, having begun his career as a mesmerist, was ending it at Portland, Maine, as a successful mental healer with a system supplemented by Berkeley and the Bible, and explained before his death in several hundred written pages.[1]

[1] The only reason why the writer felt he should accept the invitation of editors and publishers to furnish this chapter is that he had the almost unique experience fifteen years ago of seeing the Quimby Manuscripts through the courtesy of his son, George A. Quimby, whom the writer visited in Belfast, Maine. Before publishing the first edition of his book on *Christian Science*, in 1907, he submitted his entire discussion of the Quimby Manuscript to the son, and received from him on October 18, 1907, the letter published on page 230 of his book, in which Quimby says the quotations are "absolutely correct" and most of them were written by him (P. P. Quimby), prior to his acquaintance with Mrs. Eddy. The writer saw

When Mrs. Eddy, then Mrs. Patterson, climbed the stairs to Quimby's office on October, 1862, she was "a frail shadow of a woman." Three weeks later, in her forty-second year, well in mind and body, she went on her way rejoicing. Though the general idea one finds in *Science and Health* may have come vaguely to her long before—for as in all such cases faith makes the patient whole—it was now to grow slowly but steadily into that completeness which today makes it effective in the lives of many. Precisely how much the book owes to Quimby we shall never know. To one who has seen his writings antedating Mrs. Eddy's visit there is no question as to his use also of outstanding phrases like "Christian Science" and "Science of Health," more familiar as the title *Science and Health* of the famous book. In the years that followed her visit, which amounted in the circumstances to a real discovery, since she made the idea Quimby expressed in his own way with much success her own, she often said outright that she learned from him. Many who knew her in the later sixties told years ago the same story of Mrs. Eddy sounding Quimby's praises till some grew weary of his name. One person is on record to the effect that Mrs. Eddy's exact words were: "I learned this from Dr. Quimby, and he made me promise to teach it to at least two persons before I die." [1]

In the earlier writings of Mrs. Eddy—not in late editions of *Science and Health*—terms abound which seem to indicate that many of Quimby's words and phrases were taken over, almost as he coined them, from his teachings to remain as testimony at least to her earlier sense of obligation to the man who brought

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also the very pages of *Science and Health* used between 1885 and 1890 by Mrs. Eddy's literary helper with the criticisms and suggestions made in his own handwriting, and he also read the first edition published in 1875 of *Science and Health*, which few in recent years seem to have seen because of its scarcity. To this were added in 1906 and 1907 personal visits to, and correspondence with, many, then aged, who had known Mrs. Eddy in her formative period and who when seen retained clear recollections of her unusual personality. For such reasons, with indulgence of the editors, the chapter departs somewhat from the conventional course of literary criticism. L. P. P.

[1] It is proper, however, to observe that her followers believe that the discovery of God as Principle, immanent and available to meet human need, came to Mrs. Eddy when, suffering from a serious accident, she turned to the Scriptures for solace and was healed through the spiritual revelation of Truth which she afterwards gave to the world in her text book.

her back to health. But this is not unique and is no proof of plagiarism. Like every other original thinker, she was consciously or unconsciously affected by the times in which she lived and adapted to new uses older phraseology.

After she came into her own and found the success for which she had striven sweet, outreaching, somewhat bewildering, she sometimes showed a disposition to lay less stress on Quimbyism. But masterful as Queen Elizabeth, at last lonely as "a solitary star," so God-absorbed as sometimes to appear to regard herself as coequal with Jesus and not simply his interpreter, possessing such an aptitude for business leadership as to be the only woman in history to put a religious organization on a sound and successful basis, in her last days as she looked down the long years of the past to her youth when aged men were still talking about the American Revolution, she realized —as many now outside her fold are realizing—how little after all the final outcome was predetermined by mesmerism, Shakerism, transcendentalism, and Quimbyism. In all this there is nothing to surprise.

Christian Science as it is today is really its founder's creation. Where she got this idea, or where that, little matters. As a whole the system described in *Science and Health* is hers, and nothing that can ever happen will make it less than hers. No court need pronounce her still an active officer of the church. Priority of origination, endurance of influence, no judicial action can establish or demonstrate. Facts are the final appeal. Because they are human, those responsible for interpretation and explanation, now that the Founder has "passed on," may differ as to what she thought or would have thought. That is not uncommon in the history of the race. It bears not on the subject at hand.

When she began as early as 1862 first to restate and then to improve upon the Quimby theory, her English was often turgid and vague. Even when her efforts took shape in the earlier editions of her book, terms slipped in which are no longer there, and sentences appeared as meaningful when read forward as when read backward. Her conception was so cosmic that with unresting zeal to make a book as comprehensive as the Bible, she now and then fell into a Sophomoric style which the modern college woman sheds in Freshman English. Mes-

merism, animal magnetism, and similar terms marked merely the reversion to a Mid-Victorian type of which most women of Mrs. Eddy's later years had scarcely heard.

But she kept at her task, mainly alone, since hers was not the temperament to get much help from the outside. James Henry Wiggin, from 1885 to 1890, gave more aid perhaps than anybody else in putting into conventional literary form her earnest thinking. As a cultivated New England man in the inner circle of literary Boston, Mr. Wiggin seems to have been the "paid polisher" whose hand Mark Twain discovered in the book. At first she gave him much freedom in revising, though insistent both on her thought and on its special phraseology. But her helper never took her seriously. A jovial Falstaff, with a modern education, he could not altogether satisfy a woman so profoundly serious as was Mrs. Eddy. At last she began to complain to her publisher about her helper's "flippancy," and the disillusioned cosmopolitan to whom the task, unspeakably sacred to the author, appeared to be "pot-boiling," dropped in 1890 out of her life.

With or without help, she presssed forward through the years, endeavouring to make her leading idea, increasingly to her a solemn revelation, as clear to others as it was to her. Not a day passed even in her latest years—it is credibly reported—that she did not put some touch upon the book. Not even Lincoln surpassed her in the patient effort to learn how to write good English. Her mind was on a single track, but to her apprehension and to that of many others the track led heavenward. She thought it worth her while to try and try until the end. Certainly her subjunctive gradually grew more obedient. She ceased to give subjects to participles, and her tenses learned "to stay put." Toward the close, her mode of expression became more logical and more connected, and a certain lofty and sonorous distinctiveness emerged, as her personality dominated by the constant consciousness of God, became increasingly serene, prophetic, and influential far beyond the reaches of her voice and pen.

Her best qualities seem to be illustrated in the following quotations which are believed specially to have commended themselves to Christian Scientists:

"Truth's immortal idea is sweeping down the centuries,

gathering beneath its wings the sick and sinning. My weary hope tries to realize that happy day, when man shall recognize the Science of Christ and love his neighbour as himself,—when he shall realize God's omnipotence and the healing power of the divine Love in what it has done and is doing for mankind. The promises will be fulfilled. The time for the reappearing of the divine healing is throughout all time; and whosoever layeth his earthly all on the altar of divine Science, drinketh of Christ's cup now, and is imbued with the spirit and power of Christian healing." (*Science and Health.* p. 55.)

"The divine Love, which made harmless the poisonous viper, which delivered men from the boiling oil, from the fiery furnace, from the jaws of the lion, can heal the sick in every age and triumph over sin and death. It crowned the demonstrations of Jesus with unsurpassed power and love. But the same 'Mind . . . which was also in Christ Jesus' must always accompany the letter of Science in order to confirm and repeat the ancient demonstrations of prophets and apostles." (*Science and Health*, p. 243.)

"The time for thinkers has come. Truth, independent of doctrines and time-honoured systems, knocks at the portal of humanity. Contentment with the past and cold conventionality of materialism are crumbling away. Ignorance of God is no longer the stepping-stone to faith." (*Science and Health*, Preface, p. vii.)

"Christian Science exterminates the drug, and rests on Mind alone as the curative Principle, acknowledging that the divine Mind has all power." (*Science and Health*, p. 157.)

"The divine Principle of the First Commandment bases the Science of being, by which man demonstrates health, holiness, and life eternal. One infinite God, good, unifies men and nations; constitutes the brotherhood of man; ends wars; fulfils the Scripture, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'; annihilates pagan and Christian idolatry—whatever is wrong in social, civil, criminal, political, and religious codes; equalizes the sexes; annuls the curse on man, and leaves nothing that can sin, suffer, be punished or destroyed." (*Science and Health*, p. 340.)

"No human pen nor tongue taught me the Science contained

in this book, *Science and Health*; and neither tongue nor pen can overthrow it." (*Science and Health*, p. 110.)

This post-war world is not the world of 1906 and 1907 when Christians of many folds seemed suddenly to discover that there was a new cult knocking loudly at the door of public interest, winning men and women from the various denominations, giving no reason which the average man outside Christian Science could understand for the faith it taught, using a vocabulary strange and even queer to many, making worthy doctors trained in the best schools seem to be of none effect, giving them for rivals ambitious healers of scant training and that not in institutions recognized, and only under public compulsion abandoning its claim to supplant surgery and to deal with contagious diseases which might sweep a whole community unless subject to conditions imposed by Boards of Health. Little wonder then that for the first time what seemed to many a menace to conventional Christianity and to scientific medicine was placed along with its founder under the microscope of ruthless scrutiny, and that on both sides where fifteen years ago light alone was needed. heat was often generated.

Critics studied *Science and Health* with varying results. Some saw nothing good in book or author. That was inevitable, but it must also be admitted that under criticism many Christian Scientists have kept a silence usually as wise as it is Christian. Others, in a purely scientific spirit, dissected the book without bias, and the author's career with no more bitterness than the trained historian brings to the consideration of Mahomet or Queen Elizabeth. Others approached the task from the practical point of view, discussed the author only as far as seemed necessary to understand her teaching, analyzed the book in sincerity, tried to find where it reached back to Quimbyism, and where to an idealism as old as Democritus of Abdera, and discovered a curious theology often quaintly expressed in such words as "Principle," "Father-Mother God," and "Demonstrate," a sacramental system they believed evacuated Baptism and the Lord's Supper of their historic meaning and a tendency to dualism through an emphasis on Animal Magnetism so like the Devil of orthodoxy

that some adherents are reported to have abandoned Christian Science because they could not see how God could be All in All and "M. A. M." be half and half.

To crown all, many outside of Christian Science are puzzled that the Lord's Prayer should seem to need the curious commentary given it in both *Science and Health* and public worship:

Our Father which art in heaven.
Our Father-Mother God, all-harmonious.
Hallowed be Thy Name.
Adorable One.
Thy Kingdom come.
Thy kingdom is come, Thou art ever-present.
Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
Enable us to know, as in heaven, so on earth—God is omnipotent, supreme.
Give us this day our daily bread;
Give us grace for today; feed the famished affections;
And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.
And love is reflected in love.
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from Evil;
And God leadeth us not into temptation, but delivereth us from sin, disease, and death.
For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory forever!
*For God is infinite, all-power, all Life, Truth, Love, over all, and All.**

*(*Science and Health*, p. 16.)

After her experience in passing from a youth and middle age of doubtful health into an old age of good health, the more remarkable because of her natural frailness, Mrs. Eddy staked the value of her *magnum opus* upon the therapeutics which it taught. Her followers have done the same. Results have been shown in the many cures reported in the Wednesday evening testimony meeting, so well attended, in some places regularly by thousands, that the mid-week service, to most denominations a problem, and to many a farce, must be reckoned with by those who study *Science and Health* from any point of view.

Through her book Mrs. Eddy has achieved results, having

made effective a recognized principle in psychology. On a smaller scale others too have obtained results. The Emmanuel Movement and the Nazarene Society, though they differ in content and technique, have made a worthy record in their field. No matter what their language, the healing plans usually use suggestion as psychologically defined, re-enforced by faith, and Christian churches are experimenting with religious healing methods without breaking with the family doctor.

Drugless healing has been everywhere subjected to scientific study. Professor Goddard's only interest is psychological, and he reports that the cases he has studied cover almost the whole field of pathology. Of the patients thirty-three per cent. claimed instantaneous healing, fifty per cent. a gradual cure, and seventeen per cent. incomplete. Parkyn, Van Rhenterghem, Cabot, and others have made analogous studies and make similar reports. Christian Science submits to no such tests. It admits practically no limitations to its possibility of cures. Percentages are therefore not scientifically ascertainable in Christian Science. But the average man has perhaps little interest in scientific percentages. He is a pragmatist. He takes his neighbour's word. He is apt to agree with Theodore Dreiser that "If a religion will do anybody any good, for Heaven's sake, let him have it."

In these days when suffering is more general and more intense, many honestly report that they find in *Science and Health* what Ex-President Crowell calls "a remarkable personal narrative, combining the contemplative and the practical in the field of Christian teaching." There are (as in the chapter on prayer, where in spite of the discouragement of petition and of audible expression there is a deeply religious spirit) some passages which seem helpful in spiritual distress. The general effect of the book has been to encourage daily Bible reading until today Christian Scientists are probably the most numerous and most faithful Bible readers in the world. Dean Charles Reynolds Brown of Yale University is convinced that Christian Scientists, with this book before them, as "a class are upright and clean." With allowance for those in every religion who do not try to live up to its highest teachings, they measurably avoid friction and irritation and preserve considerable serenity and other worldliness amid temptations which many of us seem

unable to resist. They have to their credit a widely read daily paper which for editorial ability as well as excellent news service ranks among the best journals in the country. Finally, as the years go by, it is thought by many that Christian Scientists seem to be increasingly disposed to emphasize only the outstanding virtues which their book teaches, and in consequence to bring forth "the fruit of the spirit—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law."

CHAPTER XXIX

Book Publishers and Publishing

THE history of book publishing in British North America begins with 1640, when Stephen Daye printed at Cambridge *The Bay Psalm Book*, the first real book to issue from a press north of Mexico. Daye continued to print for only about seven or eight years, when he was succeeded by Samuel Green, for causes known only to the authorities of Harvard College, under whose direction this first American press was operated. Back of Harvard stood the more or less arbitrary authority of the Crown, exercised against publication in more than one colony through some ultra-conservative governor or council. In fact not until about twenty-one years before the Revolution were legal restrictions removed from publishing in the colony where it was born.

These restrictions, in the case of Massachusetts, were largely motivated by religion; and the early issues of the press were almost entirely religious in character. The first monument of American scholarship and printing ability, for instance, is *The Holy Bible . . . Translated into the Indian Language*, Cambridge, 1663. Six years later from the same press appeared what seems to be our first original book not strictly religious in character, Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial*. Moreover this work announces that it is "Printed for H. Usher of Boston." Urian Oakes's *Elegie Upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard*,[1] in some respects the best poem produced in the colonies before the eighteenth century, dates from 1677. As early as 1693, at least, book dealers had begun to sell private libraries, for in that year appeared *The Library of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee . . .*

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

Exposed . . . to sale, by Duncan Campbell, Boston. At Boston also was issued in 1717 *A Catalogue of curious and valuable books, belonging to the late Reverend & learned Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton . . . To be sold by Auction, at the Brown Coffee-House in Boston, the second day of July, 1717*, which is held to be our first auction sale catalogue of books.

With these dates, involving as they do scholarly activity, press work of some note, printer and publisher, adumbrations at least of literary genius, and the circulation of books through carefully formulated advertisement, the history of American publishers and publication may truly be said to be under headway. In these early days, as well, even in the stronghold of the Puritans, there were attempts at something above mere utilitarianism in books, for about 1671 John Foster, the earliest American engraver and the first person to set up a press in Boston (in 1675), had published an engraved portrait of Richard Mather. In the same town in 1731 appeared what is regarded as our first portrait engraved on copper plate.

Clearly the pioneer position in American publication belongs to Cambridge and Boston, and the latter city was to hold first place as a publishing centre until about 1765, when Philadelphia was to eclipse it, an eclipse from which it was not to emerge until about the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. William Bradford in 1682 landed in Pennsylvania, and by 1685 was printer and publisher of *The Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*. Bradford's career in Pennsylvania was far from happy, however. Twice he was summoned before the governor, once put under heavy bond, and once thrown into jail; so that in 1693 he departed in wrath for New York. For the next six years there appears to be no record of printing in the colony.

But Philadelphia was too highly favoured in the eighteenth century by geographical situation and by political, financial, and social currents not to begin soon to assert herself. Already as early as 1740 a would-be magazine publisher had stated in a few words the dominant reasons for the leadership of Philadelphia during its some sixty years of hegemony:

> As the City of *Philadelphia* lies in the *Center* of the *British* Plantations, and is the *Middle* Stage of the Post, from *Boston* in *New England* Northwards, down to *Charlestown* in *Carolina* South-

wards, and as that City, besides its frequent Intercourse with *Europe*, derives a continued Trade with the *West India Islands*, and also has a considerable Commerce with the rest of the Colonies on the Continent; We *Therefore* fixed upon it as the properest Place, and more commodiously situated than any other, for carrying on the various correspondences, which the Nature of the Work renders necessary.[1]

What the writer says of magazines applies equally well to books at an early period, even in the reference to the West Indies, which in colonial days received a considerable part of their publications from this country.

Bradford, then, was succeeded by a long line of illustrious printers and publishers; for after the famous trial of Peter Zenger at New York in 1734–35 (the *Brief Narrative* of which became the most famous publication issued in America before the *Farmer's Letters*), a trial which virtually decided the freedom of the press in America, there was no more necessity for such cases as his. By 1770 Robert Bell had gained the reputation of being the most progressive publisher in the colonies. Then came the Revolution, the sum total of its effects being a powerful factor in the rise to leadership of Philadelphia. Bell was ably succeeded by Robert Aitken. When Jeremy Belknap of Massachusetts was seeking a publisher in 1782, Ebenezer Hazard, an authority for the period, pronounced Aitken the best publisher in America. He was followed by Mathew Carey, one of the greatest publishers, all things considered in their true historical perspective, yet produced by this country.

But while Philadelphia was thus climbing to pre-eminence and weathering the Revolution, with its marked emphasis on publications of a purely utilitarian and controversial nature, other printing centres were springing up over the country. New York had received the disgruntled Bradford, who in 1694 issued Keith's *Truth Advanced*, according to Hildeburn the first book to appear in that city. Both New York and Philadelphia were, in one respect, at a disadvantage as compared to Boston in the circulation of their publications, in that the population they supplied was much less homogeneous. As early as 1708, at least, a Dutch book, Falckner's *Grondlycke*

[1] *The American Weekly Mercury*, 6 Nov., 1740.

Onderricht, had appeared in New York. Yet while thirty Dutch publications were issued between 1730 and 1764, the influence of that language as a publishing medium was practically dead by 1800, although it was revived much later at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

With the German language, however, the case was far different. Andrew Bradford printed Conrad Beissel's *Das Büchlein vom Sabbath* in 1728, ushering in German printing in this country. In 1738 Christopher Saur or Sower established at Germantown what is the oldest extant publishing firm in the United States. Sower won his place in publishing annals by his three editions of the Bible, in 1743, 1762, and 1776. Not until 1782 was our first Bible in English published, by Robert Aitken at Philadelphia. But even more remarkable than Sower's editions of the Bible was the issue of Van Bragt's *Martyr Book* by the Ephrata brethren in 1748 and 1749, which, in an edition of about 1300 copies of a massive folio of 1512 pages on thick paper, was the largest book until after the Revolution. Up to 1830 German printing was carried on in some 47 places, and of these at least 31 were in Pennsylvania, while in actual output and in intellectual stirring the balance was even greater in favour of that colony than these figures would indicate. Moreover, Germantown was the first place to gain wide recognition for itself as a paper manufacturing centre.

Of book publication in other languages during this period, little account need be taken, though there were a few French issues. When one turns, however, to the more subtle and pervasive influence of cultural infiltration, something more must be said for French. The intensely interesting catalogue of Moreau de St. Mery & Company's Store, Philadelphia, 1795, with some 920 entries of French books, together with other evidence, shows that book dealers must have reckoned directly and publishers indirectly with French influence. Moreover, this catalogue, with its list of Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch works gives eloquent testimony to the cultivation of our cosmopolitan capital. In no wise accidentally, as in large measure is to be said of Boston at a later period, was Philadelphia our chief centre of publication as the Republic began its political career.

In the meanwhile in this germinal eighteenth century

other colonies had been making a beginning. One of the most influential of these, Virginia, had possibly seen an issue from her press as early as 1682, but at any rate it is fully authenticated that from 1730 to 1737 William Parks was under contract by the governments of Virginia and Maryland to maintain printing presses at Annapolis and at Williamsburg. The dates for the establishment of presses in other colonies and states most noteworthy in the annals of our early publishing are, according to the best authorities, Connecticut, 1709; Rhode Island, 1727; South Carolina, 1732; Kentucky, 1787[1]; and Ohio, 1793.

Under modern conditions these dates would mean little or nothing, save perhaps that some venturesome printer saw an opening for a newspaper and job printing. But in the eighteenth century specialization and concentration in publication had not yet taken place, nor is it fully visible until the beginning of the second quarter of the next; for even as late as 1837 the Harpers did printing for any one who would bring it in to them, and James and Thomas Swords were pronounced as being in about 1815 the first New York bookmakers who were distinctively publishers. So in these early days, when a press was set up usually a few books were soon issued. It was a period of cheap apprentice labour, of widespread religious activity, of the formulating of new laws, and of purveying to a scattered population elementary books of an educational character. Communication was difficult, and the publisher of a book was not likely to fail to sell it because some highly organized firm at a distance might supply his limited territory. Moreover, quite frequently in a costly undertaking the publisher's risks were minimized by the fact that the work was not put to press until he thought such a number of subscribers had been obtained as would insure him against financial loss. After the middle of the century one marked phenomenon, interrupted only during the Revolution, was the increasingly large output of classic reprints from American presses.

Therefore there sprang up towards the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century a large number of publishing centres that until the period of centralization began had fairly noteworthy careers. Reading,

[1] Thomas says 1786.

Lancaster, and Germantown in Pennsylvania; Brattleboro, Vermont; Hartford, Connecticut; Burlington, New Jersey; Charleston, South Carolina; Lexington, Kentucky; and Newport, Rhode Island, were early of some note, while in 1834 Hartford was said to be our largest school-book publishing centre.

The reprinting of standard literature referred to above first begins to make itself noticed about 1744. In that year was published Cicero's *Cato Major*, while New York, Philadelphia, and Boston each issued an edition of Richardson's *Pamela or Virtue Rewarded*, the sub-title of which, together with its British reputation for unimpeachable piety, caused thus early even a Boston publisher to risk bringing it out. As late as 1800 Mathew Carey's printer wrote to him "if you can think of printing a Novel."

Very early, however, graceless New York had found, in the person of Hugh Gaine, one of the most interesting of all American publishers, a producer not only of novels but of what north of Virginia at least was usually looked upon with even greater disfavour, that is, plays. In the one year of 1761 alone he put out not less than twenty-two plays, more than one of which was by a Restoration dramatist. The decorous publishers of Philadelphia and Boston followed less radical paths, reading aright the comparative conservatism of their public. Moreover, it is risking little to say that the trouble which befell Gaine during the Revolution was not all political but was acidulated by Puritan rancour over the class of his publications. Within a few years of 1761 Andrew Stewart, of Philadelphia, issued two or three plays; but in general the press of that city reflected a staid psychology, while Boston contented itself with the Puritan tenor of *The Messiah*, *Night Thoughts*, and *The Day of Doom*, a tenor which was not to be changed materially until the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The Revolutionary period was quite different from any that had preceded it. Before the war, although the issues of the American press showed, as noted, a sprinkling of non-theological works, they were nevertheless overwhelmingly religious in character. But now politics becomes of first importance, and we pass from dominant figures to the frequent anonymity

of dangerous discussion. There was great difficulty in obtaining paper during and just before the war, and as pamphlets were too expensive, not to say books, broadsides became the prevailing form of publication. Rags were regularly advertised for by the publishers. Yet although American publishing bears eloquent witness to the all-obsessing nature of the stern struggle, coming as it did at a time when our publishing facilities were not materially far enough advanced to absorb the blow, nevertheless the love of literature was not dead. The opening years of the Revolution saw, in addition to Brackenridge,[1] Trumbull,[2] Freneau,[3] and Hopkinson,[4] who of course would be issued regardless of conditions, works issued of Alsop,[5] Defoe, Falconer, Garrick, Milton, Pope, Sterne, Thomson, Voltaire, and Young.

Back of all publication, and in the final analysis dominating it, stands of course the psychology of the reading public. And especially as we approach the present century does it become more and more evident that the great publisher must be a psychological expert in public literary tastes and interests. Somewhere, then, about the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century American publishers began to sense the fact that the people of the country, having won some slight measure of victory over the imperious necessities of mere material existence, and having to some degree slowly broadened down to a mellowness where life was no longer solely a struggle with the flesh and the devil, were beginning to demand real literature.

After the Revolution, which had temporarily dammed back this current of our culture, the recovery, considering the prostration of our material resources, was little short of marvellous. Now for the first time in our bibliographies it becomes necessary to divide our literary output into genres. Evans, for instance, for the period from 1786 to 1789 gives drama, 38; fables, 8; fiction, 43; juvenile, 104; poetry, 130; and miscellany, 12.

Probably the best domestic seller of 1786 was James Buckland's *An Account of the Discovery of a Hermit, Who Lived about 200 Years in a Cave at the Foot of a Hill, 73 Days Journey*

[1] See Book II, Chap. VI. [2] See Book I, Chap. IX. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] See Book I, Chap. IX, and Book II, Chap. II.
[5] See Book I, Chap. IX.

Westward of the Great Alleghany Mountains, which appeared in that year at Pittsburg, Portsmouth, Middletown, New Haven, Norwich, and Boston, and which went through several myth-adding editions in the next few years. Its vogue is noted here merely to emphasize the fact that the American public was becoming prepared for that literary enfranchisement noticeable in the last years of the eighteenth century. True enough, until within the days of Hay[1] and Eggleston[2] the publishers could have noted an opposition to the novel, but it was even after the beginning of the nineteenth century one that, save in some districts, they need not note as prohibitive.[3] The South, even before the Revolution, was obtaining by direct importation, through book dealers, and from American publishers large quantities of belles-lettres, especially novels.

One aspect of the book business disconcerting to the American publisher existed for some time after the Revolution, however, and that was the publication in England of books by our authors. Roughly speaking the dominant centres of publication for American books during the period from 1765 to 1783 were, in the order of their importance, Philadelphia, London, Boston, New York, Charleston, Newport, and New Haven. For several years after the war any American book published in London had acquired a noteworthy prestige at home and had materially increased its chances for sales on both sides of the Atlantic. In some few cases, in fact, where presswork offered unusual difficulties, or where, especially, illustrations were numerous and costly, it was best that the work be published abroad. Moreover, American authors first obtained really commanding international standing through books of information concerning this country, and it was but natural that such works should obtain wide circulation in Europe with its ever-pressing problem of emigration.[4]

In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, signs

[1] See Book III, Chaps. x and xv. [2] See Book III, Chap. xi.

[3] For a discussion of this phase of American psychology, see *Some Aspects of the Early American Novel*, *The Texas Review*, April, 1918. The publication of the works of Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall was at first bitterly opposed in this country by an influential class.

[4] Any one interested in this phase of American publication should study the lives of Major Robert Rogers, William Bartram, Audubon, and, especially, Captain Jonathan Carver. [See Book II, Chap. i, and bibliography.]

begin to accumulate in our publishing life of the awakening of an American nationality. For instance, the reason why the president of Harvard and two of his professors, together with a governor, recommended Nicholas Pike's *Complete System of Arithmetic* in 1786, is that it is "*Wholly American*" in both "Work and Execution" and will keep much money in this country. Moreover, though to most Americans the works of Noah Webster[1] have even yet a dim aura of classicism, they little realize how he had to fight to overcome the conservatism and the pro-British tendencies of his public. In 1807 he writes:

> But there is another evil resulting from this dependence [upon Great Britain] which is little considered; this is, that it *checks improvement.* No one man in a thousand—not even the violent political opposers of Great Britain—reflects upon this influence. Our people look to English books as the standard of truth on all subjects, and this confidence in English opinions puts *an end to inquiry.* . . . We have opposed to us [in introducing American books] the publishers of most of the popular periodical works in our large towns.[2]

Webster further says that the educated men of the smaller towns and the professors of the Northern colleges generally are favourable to American publications, but that the large cities are strongholds of British subserviency.

Thus American scholarship began to assert itself during the opening decades of the nineteenth century with more real vigour than did American belles-lettres, for against the popularity of Mackenzie, Mrs. Radcliffe, Mrs. Roche, Hannah More, Jane Porter, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Chapone, Miss Williams, Mrs. Rowson[3] (in part, however, to be claimed as American), and later of Scott, 500,000 volumes of whose novels were issued from the American press in the nine years ending with 1823, the struggle was desperate. There were no restraints, either legal or ethical, at this period to prohibit the publication of these authors; and the publishers issued them in large numbers, sometimes in chap-books as low as five cents. Moreover,

[1] See Book III, Chaps. XXIII and XXV.

[2] Todd, C. B., *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, p. 247. The entire letter, pp. 247–252, is worthy the careful study of the student of our early literature.

[3] See Book II, Chap. VI.

during the three decades before Scott's novels appeared, there were frequent republications or importations of, especially, Bunyan, Milton, Defoe, Pope, Addison, Thomson, Young, Darwin, Lewis, Johnson, and Goldsmith. The publishers of Trumbull, Barlow,[1] Dwight,[2] and Brown,[3] while receiving apparently fair returns from these men of popularity or near popularity, must have been, as a whole, keenly aware what a tiny rill was flowing into their coffers from their publications by American authors of belles-lettres.

Simms,[4] in 1844, thought that American literature really began with the War of 1812; and viewing the matter, as he appears temporarily to be doing, in the light of the publisher, there is some truth in his argument. He overstates his side of the question, however, when he says that prior to 1815 the issues from American presses were not only reprints wholly from foreign sources but were confined chiefly to works of science and education. There were too many reprints of belles-lettres, too much cultural striving, for the latter part of this to hold good. He is, however, quite correct when he calls attention to the small chance the American poet had in publishing in those days, and equally correct when he notes an awakening in the publication of "school and classical books." American intellectual freedom was voicing itself through its publications, and soon it was to become pathetically and perennially vocal in its cry for an American literature.

In 1820 about thirty per cent. of our publications were by our own authors; by 1840 it was approximately half, though the large increase in school books during the thirties had much to do with the rise. In 1856 the proportion had risen to about eighty per cent.[5] The vast bulk of the remaining portion is, in each case, composed of British productions. If to this be added the fact that sometime in the late forties the rage for Americana became pronounced, the middle of the nineteenth century may be taken as the turning point of nationalism in our publishing history.

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

[2] See Book I, Chap. IX., and Book II, Chap. XXII.

[3] See Book II, Chap. VI.

[4] See Book II, Chap. VII.

[5] Two authorities, one British and the other American, reach practically the same conclusion for these periods, though each worked independently of the other.

Besides the beginnings in the reflection of American consciousness of nationalism and the noteworthy increase in school books of our own authorship and manufacture, the period immediately after 1812 was made notable by the many mechanical improvements introduced. In 1813 stereotyping was first employed. Iron presses began to replace the old wooden ones about 1817; in 1819 our first lithograph appeared, though about 1802 Mathew Carey had corresponded with Didot concerning his method of lithographing; while about 1825 bindings were cheapened by the use of muslin. Type casting had been attempted as early as 1768 and made a success of but a few years later. Therefore, though as late as 1834 Audubon was publishing in Edinburgh, primarily for mechanical reasons apparently, and though even in 1835 Harper & Brothers printed all their books on hand presses, yet by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, American publication may be said to have passed through the period of mechanical adolescence.

At the very end of this period the annuals began to appear. Through their profusion of illustrations they notably raised the standard of the publisher's art all over the civilized world. The year 1843 was distinguished by the publication of Harper's *Pictorial Bible* and the Verplanck *Shakespeare*, which, containing as they did over 2500 pictures, strikingly emphasized the development of wood engraving; while, says Major G. H. Putnam, "beginning with 1869 the art of printing with the best possible artistic effects large impressions of carefully made illustrations was developed in the United States to an extent that has never been equalled in any other country."[1]

This constant mechanical improvement had, of course, the inevitable effect of cheapening the price of books, especially when reinforced by conditions growing out of the lack of an international copyright law. Accordingly, a little while after it became clear that stereotyping was a success, there was a noticeable lessening in price. Before this period, though there were no heavy advertising bills as at present, books, because of the cost of mechanical production and of carrying charges, especially of overland transportation, were markedly higher than they are today, measured in terms of labour and its pro-

[1] Putnam, G. H., *George Palmer Putnam: A Memoir*, p. 364.

ducts. In fact, they may be said to have been anywhere from two to two and one half times more costly. The constant tendency towards less bulky volumes seems to have received its first impetus from the fact that at an early date books were charged for at circulating libraries according to size; but of course weight in the hand and improvement in paper and type have had most to do with it.

During these opening decades of the nineteenth century, Philadelphia had been retaining her position as our foremost publishing centre. Two encyclopædias in twenty-one and in forty-seven volumes, one of them representing an investment of $500,000, had been completed there by 1824, works that would have probably overtaxed the publishing facilities of any other of our printing centres. Philadelphia has to her credit, too, the first American edition of Shakespeare and the first American anthology,[1] though one had been projected previously at New York. The final word was said as to the reality of her supremacy when Barlow, a New England man, published there, in 1807, his *Columbiad*, "in all respects the finest specimen of book making ever produced [up to that time] by an American press." Though Carey and Hart were ten years after their foundation in 1829 regarded as the leading publishers of belles-lettres in America, their place in this respect was soon to be taken by Ticknor and Fields of Boston. And while Philadelphia holds to the present day supremacy in the publication of medical literature, the foundation of her primacy running back well into the eighteenth century, the rising greatness of New York began somewhere about 1820 to relegate her, as a whole, to second place.

Perhaps the dominant reason for this change was the fact that during the period of bitterly intense rivalry to secure the latest European success for reprinting, the port of New York won a publishing victory over that of Philadelphia. One does not, however, have any too comfortable a feeling in asserting that primacy ever did belong to New York until the sixties. Philadelphia declined slowly; and up to the Civil War it, conserva-

[1] *Beauties of Poetry, British and American* (1791). Nineteen American writers are represented. The first of a proposed series of volumes of *American Poems Selected and Original*, printed at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1793, is usually given as our earliest anthology.

tive and neutral, was the chief distributing centre for the South and, to a considerable extent, for the West.[1] Moreover, evidence is not clear as to when Boston, for the second time, began to lead, though we may say probably some time in the early forties.

During the prolific period between the establishment of the house of Harper in 1817 and that of Scribner in 1846, New York saw the birth of many houses that were and are destined to loom large in the history of American publishing. In 1825 the house of Appleton was founded; in 1832 appeared John Wiley & Sons; John F. Trow, and Wiley, Long & Putnam were established in 1836, to be followed three years later by Dodd, Mead & Company. Of a much later period are the firms of McClure and Company, Doubleday, Page and Co., The Century Co., and Henry Holt and Company. The successful booksellers and publishers of the first quarter of the century, Small, Carey, Thomas, and Warner of Philadelphia; Duyckinck, Reed, Campbell, Kirk & Mercein, Whiting & Watson, of New York; West & Richardson, Cummings & Hilliard, R. P. & C. Williams, Wells & Lilly, and S. T. Armstrong, of Boston; Beers & Howe, of New Haven; and P. D. Cooke, of Hartford, who had, in almost every case, won success as mere reproducers of British works or of purely utilitarian American ones, were being replaced, in all these cities save the last two, by firms whose names are now familiar wherever the English language is read. Almost inevitably the average reader will underestimate the profound influence of our old publishers in bringing sweetness and light into the sombre, narrow lives of our forefathers, in spreading education, and, above all, in helping to inculcate the national consciousness without which a literature cannot exist; though of course the two wars with Great Britain were the all-enveloping factors which make a history of purely American publication possible.

But the great outstanding factor in the history of our publishing in the nineteenth century is the absence of and the struggle for an international copyright law. Much of the development of the short story in America,[2] the rise to

[1] See Brotherhead, W., *Forty Years among the Old Booksellers of Philadelphia*, p. 27. Brotherhead also has an interesting discussion of the beginnings of the vogue for Americana.

[2] See Book III, Chap. VI.

commanding position of the American magazine,[1] the stifling of the American playwright for three quarters of a century,[2] and the desperate struggle of all save our greatest novelists against grave difficulties until 1891[3] may be traced to the want of such a law.

In 1790 Congress passed a national law for the protection of literary property; and in those days of non-professional authorship and of dependence upon Europe, it no doubt thought that the situation had been fully met, even though as early as 1782 Jeremy Belknap[4] was gathering advice as to how he might prevent himself being pirated in London. But when professional authorship began in America with Morse,[5] the geographer, Webster, and Brown, a new influence was introduced, for the rewards of American authorship, in fact, the possibility of American authorship in some cases, and the tenor of American publications are inextricably inwoven with the international copyright law.

Beginning with Scott's novels, the American publishers, who before had not been numerous enough to interfere seriously with each other or able to supply the demands for British classics, entered on an absorbing race in speed of publications and in underselling powers. In 1823 Carey & Lea of Philadelphia received advance copies of cantos eleven and thirteen of Byron's *Don Juan*. It was immediately given out to thirty-five or forty compositors, and within thirty-six hours an American edition was on sale. Later equally marvellous tales come down to us of speed in translating the last French success.

When in 1838 the *Great Western* and the *Sirius*, the first vessels to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam, arrived at New York, the great idea dawned upon a certain class of publishers that with this close connection journalism might be made of literature. Accordingly there sprang up a large number of mammoth weeklies for the republication in cheap form of whatever, in this eager age of reading, promised to be popular as it issued from the European press. For instance, *Zanoni* was published in the spring of 1842

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIX.
[2] See Book III, Chap. XVII.
[3] See Book III, Chap. XI.
[4] See Book II, Chap. XVII.
[5] See Book II, Chaps. I and XVII.

by the Harpers, and in *The New World*, and in *Brother Jonathan*, and the price went as low as six cents. The better class of publishers on both sides of the Atlantic tried to do at least a nominal justice to the authors they republished, and instituted a system of payment for advance sheets or copies.[1] Such luxuries of conscience, however, were not indulged in by many; and as soon as a reputable American publisher had issued a book that held the promise of a sale, the pirates rushed out an edition. Sometimes owing to the uncertainty of the ocean transit they were even able to get out the first one. In self-defence the respectable firms began a retaliatory war of underselling; and having a sounder financial basis, they won in the contest. Then ensued an arrangement, more or less irritatingly defective, known as trade courtesy, whereby an understanding with an overseas author was respected. But after the Civil War, under the stress of economic readjustment, chaos came again.

In 1837 the first recorded movement in the United States was taken towards international copyright. In the next five years numerous petitions for a law, signed by many prominent authors on both sides of the Atlantic, were presented to Congress. Some of the publishers soon became interested in the movement, one of the first and most aggressive being G. P. Putnam. Opposed to it for some time were, most prominently, the Harpers; but the chief centre of opposition was Philadelphia. For a while, ending with 1850, the British laws had been interpreted so as to protect American interests, but the golden opportunity was allowed to pass. On the part of the opponents of the law there was a tendency to confuse it with the protective tariff; and above all did they contend that American education would be injured by the increased price of books and by the fact that European works could not be adapted to our needs. Through the American Copyright League founded in 1883 and the American Publishers' Copyright League (1887) especially was the struggle finally brought to a victorious close in 1891. The chief effects up to the present of the law seem to be threefold. There has been a tremendous and immediate widening of the circle of readers the average author may address. Branch

[1] For the relative value of British authors to American publishers see J. H. Harper's *The House of Harper*, p. 115, and E. L. Bradsher's *Mathew Carey*, pp. 93–94.

houses have been established on both sides of the Atlantic, and existing houses have been enabled to broaden greatly their appeal to the reading public. Chief among such firms in America are The Macmillan Company, Longmans, Green and Co., G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Oxford University Press, Charles Scribner's Sons, and E. P. Dutton and Company. But, above all, there has resulted an immense stimulus to the possibilities of American literature through the securing of adequate returns to our authors.

The three professional authors already referred to were fortunate in that in two cases they published works of such nature that American superiority of domestic information or a growing feeling of nationalism could be enlisted in their behalf. Brown came before closeness of communication and the latest great success could unite to rob him of even his slender gains, for though Morse and Webster and, later, Barnes, Andrews, Anthon, and Stephens made fortunes through the authorship of school books, belles-lettres were but a sorry crutch indeed until well within the nineteenth century. European, especially British, supplies were too cheap and plentiful.

Goodrich, speaking of the time about 1820, says that "it was positively injurious to the commercial credit of a bookseller to undertake American works unless they might be Morse's Geographies, classical books, Watts's Psalms and Hymns, or something of that class." Hawthorne's *The Devil in Manuscript* has a passage of like tenor; and as late as 1886 Dana Estes of Boston testified before the Senate Committee on Patents:

> For two years past though I belong to a publishing house that emits nearly $1,000,000 worth of books per year, I have absolutely refused to entertain the idea of publishing an American manuscript. I have returned scores, if not hundreds, of manuscripts of American authors, unopened even, simply from the fact that it is impossible to make the books of most American authors pay, unless they are first published and acquire recognition through the columns of the magazines.

Against such an adverse current, American authorship was slowly winning its way. In 1829, it is asserted, no author

of belles-lettres was living by his pen in New York. The lives of Richard Dabney, Percival,[1] and Halleck[2] throw a strong light upon the rewards of authorship during the first four decades of the century. The first two men, though possessed of a thin strain of genius, were constantly in desperate straits on Grub Street. Halleck, in spite of some aspects of popularity, received for the entire labours of a literary lifetime but $17,500, or approximately $364 a year. Irving[3] and Cooper[4] had other financial resources than authorship, but according to Longfellow, Professor Ingraham's bad novels[5] were rewarding him richly in the thirties.

Simms affirms that up to the year 1834 American literature was with a few exceptions the diversion of the amateur but that about that time it began to assume the aspect of a business; while as late as 1842 Channing[6] ventured the (mistaken) opinion that Hawthorne[7] was the only American who supported himself by authorship. Yet the remark of such a man shows how few were our temerarious professional authors. By 1842 a man of great ability, unless divided against himself like Poe,[8] could find support in literature in most fields of prose, for one must always remember Bryant's remark implying that poetry and a full stomach did not go together. In a large measure both Longfellow[9] and Whittier[10] must have felt likewise, for the latter, who had little to fall back upon, was in straitened circumstances until the publication of *Snow-Bound*. Lowell[11] had to superintend his own publications for a time, but in 1870 he was able to say that he had lately declined $4000 a year to write four pages monthly for a magazine. One striking exception to poor pay for poetry is, however, found in Willis,[12] but even his magazine receipts of $4800 a year about 1842 were largely from prose.

The magazines were indeed a saving influence in the life of the hard-pressed American author. "The burst on authorland of Graham's and Godey's liberal prices," Willis said, "was like a sunrise without a dawn." *Graham's Magazine*,[13]

[1] See Book II, Chap. v.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] See Book II, Chap. iv.
[4] See Book II, Chap. vi.
[5] See Book III, Chap. xi.
[6] See Book II, Chap. viii.
[7] See Book II, Chap. xi.
[8] See Book II, Chap. xiv.
[9] See Book II, Chap. xii.
[10] See Book II, Chap. xiii.
[11] See Book II, Chap. xxiv.
[12] See Book II, Chap. iii.
[13] See Book II, Chap. xx.

established in 1841, was especially liberal in its payments, particularly to Cooper and Hawthorne. It must have been largely of the aid of the magazines that Goodrich was thinking when he said in 1856 that nothing was more remarkable than good writing, though he truly adds that authorship does not rank financially with other professions.

History of good quality has apparently always paid. Before Mrs. Stowe's great success in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*,[1] Prescott[2] was probably the best rewarded of our classic writers. As early as 1846 he says that his copyrights were considered by his publishers as worth $25,000 each, and that on his two histories he had already received about $30,000; and even better things could be reported of the next two histories. Against this must be balanced the fact that the proceeds of Emerson's[3] literary life were little more than $30,000.

Since 1891 both the playwright and the novelist have flourished. While there are striking instances of financial success for both before that period, the former was especially hard hit by the constant stream of plays flowing in, copyright free, from Europe. Kotzebue and Scribe especially figured constantly in this retarding of the American playwright. But as a class the novelists have won the most spectacular monetary rewards of our time. Just what these returns are, it is not possible to ascertain nor perhaps advisable to reveal if it were. In attempting to find them out, one becomes hopelessly involved in guesses and in interested gossip. However, one prominent publisher of our century has committed himself to the assertion that Mary Johnston must have made from $60,000 to $70,000 on *To Have and to Hold*, which statement may be taken as some fair gauge of the returns of a modern best seller.

But as we go backwards to our classic novelists, it becomes strikingly apparent that, save in one or two instances, they got no such rewards. The reason lies in the unending flow of European fiction reproduced in the mammoth weekly for five cents, and by the best publishers, usually, in Cooper's time for $1.50, while American novels were $2. Then, to catch all classes of buyers, between these two came the cheap series so popular even a generation ago. Harper's Library of Select

[1] See Book III, Chap. XI.
[2] See Book II, Chap. XVIII.
[3] See Book II, Chap. IX.

Novels in brown paper covers began in 1842, reaching 615 volumes, all of them save some half dozen being foreign authors, in part contemporary ones. This is but a type of what publishers were doing, or trying to do, all over the country. After the Civil War, when trade courtesy died, this deluge of cheap literature began again, the Seaside Library being especially noteworthy, though scarcely less so than the Lakeside Series from Chicago, both selling as low as ten cents. Both were births of the end of the seventies. Meanwhile, if the European author was being robbed directly and the American author indirectly in this country, the latter was receiving little from Europe. As early as 1793 Germany was pirating our authors; and Cooper was but a type when he remarked after his residence in France that the return to him from the sales of his books in France did not pay his French taxes; and he was highly popular there at that time, too. The British pirate was not handicapped by the necessity of translation.

A few words must yet be said upon the concentration of American publishing. In 1858 Simms wrote: "We have not a single publisher in the whole South, from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande. We have book sellers and printers, who occasionally issue books originally from the press but who . . . rarely succeed in selling them."[1] Concentration of population and facility of communication, both largely lacking, were, he thought, the two secrets of success. The Southern city which came nearest being a publishing centre at this period was Richmond, while Mobile had one firm of some local prominence; but the favourite publishers of Southern writers for a generation before the war were the Harpers, the Appletons, Jewett & Company, Derby & Jackson, and the Lippincotts. But if the South was not active in publication, the evidence is overwhelming that it was an unusually large buyer of fine books.[2]

In the Middle West, to an eminent degree Cincinnati had facility of communication through her strategic position on the Ohio in days of slow overland communication; and for two decades or more before the war it was a great publishing

[1] *Literary Prospects of the South*, *Russell's Magazine*, June, 1858, p. 202. There is a possibility that Simms did not write this unsigned article

[2] New Orleans, Nashville, and Charleston were especially noteworthy in this regard.

factor along the Ohio, the Mississippi, and westward through Texas. Later came the period of rapid and cheap overland shipments and of great publishing houses with a far-flung corps of salesmen and all-pervading methods of advertising; and Cincinnati relatively lost its bright promise, being therein but a type of what, broadly speaking, took place outside of three or four great cities.

Perhaps the most illuminative document of this century is the figures of the United States Census giving the total value of book and job printing for 1905. In the nearest million dollars it runs: New York 44, Chicago 26, Philadelphia 14, St. Louis 8, Boston 7, San Francisco 4, and Cincinnati 4.

Unfortunately, as we are concerned primarily with the publication of notable literature, these figures are somewhat misleading but possibly prophetic of the future. Boston, for instance, which found itself in the forties forced once more into leadership through the race of great writers that sprang up in New England, though it lost its primacy to New York in the sixties, yet has in Houghton Mifflin Company the publishing house that issues a larger number of truly great literary works by American authors than any other house in the country; while the firm of Little, Brown and Company holds an honourable place in the development of our literature. Boston has, too, in D. C. Heath & Co. and in Ginn and Company text-book firms of commanding importance. One of the most prominent publishers of Chicago, writing in the year 1918 says: "Publishing in the west is attended by many difficulties. The principal book market is east of the Alleghenies, and the natural source of supply is the eastern cities." So, if from the standpoint of pure literature one should attempt a rearrangement of this table it would probably run relatively, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. St. Louis is a medical book publishing centre of importance, and San Francisco has some standing for her finely printed books. Cleveland, Louisville, Springfield (Mass.), St. Paul, and Indianapolis have firms of note.

Some of the most striking phases of publication within the last two decades are the increased stress upon juvenile literature,[1] the emphasis thrown upon a few best sellers by insistent

[1] Goodrich says that in 1827 juvenile literature received little consideration from the publishers (vol. ii, pp. 279–80), but he coincides with the writer of *The*

advertising and especially by the sales methods of department stores, the springing up of a large number of publishing firms connected with the best-known universities, and the appearance of small firms that turn out books, usually reprints, that strive to reach perfection in every detail that is conducive to beauty in the finished book. But according to the president of The Macmillan Company the most inclusive new feature of the century seems to be the tendency of our larger publishers to widen the class of their publications so as to include school, technical, and medical books. For in such books and in magazines rather than in miscellaneous publications seem to lie at present the surest financial rewards of the publisher.

New Literature (*Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1854) in noting a marked emphasis upon it in the early fifties. [See, in this history, Book III, Chap. VII.]

CHAPTER XXX

The English Language in America

ON 22 February, 1917, the American Academy of Arts and Letters sat to consider its duty toward the English language in America. The published reports of the session proclaim its "academic" character in that nothing resembling a plan of action was proposed. It was less to be expected, perhaps, that no problem should be clearly formulated, but this may be accounted for partly by reason of the fact that much of the discussion turned not on the problem itself but on the duty of the Academy in the face of a problem of which everyone more or less definitely assumed the existence without attempting to state it, and partly because the company contained among many skilful users of the English language hardly more than one qualified to speak from any extended study of the problem, a lack which was expressly noted. It is not so surprising that to the mind of an assembly of this sort English as written was more constantly present than English as spoken. But from so many men of accomplishment in various forms of artistic expression there could hardly fail to emerge various points of view, prejudices, agreements and disagreements, which further discussion of the subject would do well to begin by taking into account.

To the reader of these proceedings it is made abundantly plain, taking what was said with what was implied, that in the minds of an overwhelming majority of the members, though not of all, the English language in America is in a very bad way. That this should have been their opinion might easily have been predicted. English is the most bewept of the tongues. From the days of Caxton its uncertain syntax, its perplexing variety of forms, its exotic and luxuriant vocabulary have brought dis-

tress to most of those who have taken thought of it. Compunctious visitings of an idealized Latinity have caused some to strive to regulate an apparent chaos, but all, or nearly all, to despair of stopping a heedless journey to destruction. Historically, the question turned first on matters of vocabulary, later on points of form and meaning, and at present, though the other questions are not forgotten, alarm is felt chiefly, as Henry James puts it, on account of "those influences around us that make for the imperfect disengagement of the human side of vowel sound, that make for the confused, the ugly, the flat, the thin, the mean, the helpless, that reduce articulation to an ignoble minimum . . . a mere helpless slobber of disconnected vowel noises." It is because of a growing slovenliness in uttering the unstressed vowels that the British poet-laureate, Robert Bridges, is inclined to believe that English pronunciation, even in Britain, is on the road to ruin.

It seems impossible for a student of language to refuse to be stampeded by these alarms, to maintain a certain serenity before so doleful a picture of things, pending some effort to assure himself that the picture is drawn to scale, without being accused in his turn of proclaiming with a sort of blatant cheerfulness that whatever is, linguistically, is right. Such extremes of optimism and pessimism are, of course, absurd. If they seem to exist, it must be because people are talking from different points of view about different sets of facts. To attempt to steer a rational middle course between these extremes, however, demands for its success some rehearsal of the facts. And at once, to show the existence of a middle ground, over against centuries of forebodings may be placed the fact that since Chaucer's day there has been continuously evolving, step by step with the widening experience of men, an English in which men of education everywhere in the far-flung English-speaking world could write and converse together in a way highly agreeable to any but a most inflexibly provincial taste. Amid much confusing detail it is as well not to lose sight of this central fact, that the thing we all are talking about exists. But where, and in what form?

Variety is of the essence of language. Uniformity and consistency are inventions of philosophical grammarians whose efforts are most successful when they deal with a language no

longer used to satisfy elementary social needs. A living language is one of the *mores* of a social group; it is neither a biological growth unaffected by human intervention nor a work of art given its form for all time by a single act of human creation. Consequently it will vary within the group somewhat according to the variation in other respects to be found in the individuals comprising it, and between groups it will vary still more. Like other *mores* it will be subject to modification by time. But the necessity for mutual intelligibility within the group will greatly restrict the play of individual whim; between groups this force will operate somehow in proportion to the immediacy of their contacts. In a cultured city like ancient Rome or mediæval Florence a group of people might raise and maintain a literary standard around which literary people of other groups would rally. Or, again, a convenient dialect might be somewhat arbitrarily chosen for a particular literary task, as Luther chose the dialect of the Saxon chancellary for his translation of the Bible, and this dialect, with more or less conscious modification from time to time, might remain the standard literary language. In all these cases the great mass of people, not wholly uninfluenced by the literary language perhaps, would go on speaking their own dialects, just as the Romans did until their language of the street, of the camp, and of the provinces broke up into the larger groups, such as French, Spanish, and the rest, each containing within itself many smaller groups; or just as the Italians and the Germans have gone on speaking their dialects to the present day, learning their literary language as best they can besides.

The history of English is somewhat different from any of these. In origin, Modern English, as it appears everywhere in books and as it falls from the lips of the vast majority of speakers, is the dialect of a city, London. But unlike the case of Rome, there was at the outset presumably no great difference between the language of literature and the language of every day, and, unlike Florence, London was the chief city of a steadily unifying country. With the changing language of the city, its gradual loss of Southern, or Saxon, forms and its gradual acquirement of Northern, or Anglian, forms, the language of literature kept closely in touch. By the early sixteenth century, though details are shifting, the outlines of

Modern English are fairly clear. Then came a period of great expansion. The language was carried, farther than the Roman legionaries carried theirs, into the remotest parts of the world; it came to be spoken by more people than ever before in the history of the world could hold comfortable converse together. The really surprising thing is not that the result exhibits some variety but that, when the lapse of time afforded opportunity for, and indeed effected, so much change, when groups widely scattered might so easily have completely lost contact when there was so little external compulsion of any kind to keep even the literary language true to itself, there should have resulted a literary language that is almost uniform and a number of spoken dialects which never become unintelligible one to all the rest. In 1789 Noah Webster prophesied that there would develop, "in a course of time, a language in North America, as different from the future language of England, as modern Dutch, Danish, and Swedish are from German or from one another." When it was made this was not a foolish guess; all analogy supported it. That it has not come about, that every passing day adds to the unlikelihood of its realization, is one of the things that the observer of the ways of language thinks about when he is invited to be very miserable. Clearly, matters are not so bad as they quite easily might have been.

But this is speaking in the large. What of details? Excellence is largely a matter of details. A literary language "almost uniform"—why not entirely so? "A number of spoken dialects"—why any dialects at all? Confronted with a demand for perfect uniformity—one of our academicians very expressly makes it and deplores the fact that Americans use "back of" and "toward" and "spool of thread" instead of British "behind" and "towards" and "reel of cotton"—what can we say? Obviously, such a demand more nearly concerns the literary English of books than the vernacular of daily intercourse; no one seriously hopes to see us all regimented into speaking exactly alike. But even in the former case it is proper to ask not only how far uniformity may be possible, but also how far an absolute uniformity, as opposed to something fairly close to it, is really desirable. On what ground shall this agreement be effected? Few would now feel, as some did in

[1] *Dissertations*, pp. 22–23.

the early days of the Republic, that the dignity of the nation requires that it should have a language entirely its own. More would be ready to assent to the implication of one of our academicians that American usage conform itself as far as possible to the practice of British writers. It is an old notion; Franklin and Webster both gave reverent expression to it, but neither, it should be noted, made any special effort to live up to it, and Webster at other times professed quite a different ideal. They made no more effort, that is, than any educated man does who allows his best reading to be reflected in his best writing. The simple fact is that such differences as exist between English in America and English in Britain are not mainly due to ignorance or perversity. The days are long past when the British reviewer branded as an "Americanism" every word and every construction which, during a period of enormous growth in the demands made upon the language, he could not remember having met with before. Such differences as there are, it is now well recognized, are due to the historical evolution of the language. It will be well to look at this for a moment before casting up the losses and gains and before pointing out a possible, indeed a very real, danger involved in attempting to alter too drastically the record with which history presents us.

The literary dialect of London never, as has been said, got wholly out of touch with the other dialects of the island. They continued to affect it in many ways; it was a "natural" growth in that it was not consciously regulated by groups of literary men in the way that German or French has been regulated. In company with the British Constitution it muddled along, obtaining surprisingly good results, all things considered. Of the spoken language, apart from many rustic dialects of a pedigree as honourable as it is ancient, there are at least two recognized standards in England, a Northern British and a Southern British, and, in addition, educated Scots and Irishmen and Welshmen have ways of speaking that are quite distinctly their own. The farther one travels from London the less noticeable becomes the difference between British English and American. If it be urged that the literary language is largely uniform throughout the British Isles—leaving out works that are frankly in dialect—this can in great part be accounted for by the fact that political and literary life centre

in the great commercial city of London. But the varieties that characterize spoken English today were probably even greater—less subdued to a literary medium—in the seventeenth century when the language was transplanted to America. And American authors have seldom written with an eye to the London book market. It is not, therefore, surprising that the English in America, cut off from the British at home by an estranging sea and feeling for them an affectionate regard in about the same degree as it was accorded, should not have followed precisely the same lines of change. Some of the resulting differences it will help matters to glance at.

The early colonists in America brought their English with them. They were for the most part plain people and their language must have had all the characteristics of the several dialects which they spoke at home. How far their original dialectical peculiarities are reflected in later American speech it might be hard to determine; probably so far as the later educated speech goes, not much. But the old New England plural *housen*, *clever* = *good*, *mad* = *angry*, *I be*, *you be*, *they be*, *shet* (*shut*), *becase* (*because*), *sich* (*such*), *wrastle*, *mought* (*might*), *ax* (*ask*), *ketch* (*catch*),[1] *guess* = *suppose*, and many others more certainly came over in the *Mayflower* than much else reputed a part of that seemingly miraculous cargo. Some of these forms are not often heard today, though *guess* has become a sort of shibboleth.[2] If they were once more common, it should be remembered that the situation in America was not wholly unlike that of England after the Norman Conquest; with the relaxation of literary standards, dialect forms, no longer repressed, gained recognition they could not have had in conflict with a strong literary tradition.

But it is not chiefly here that we are to look for the causes of such differences as gradually separated American and British speech. New conditions of life, to be sure, called for new words: *wigwam*, *tomahawk*, *squaw*, *papoose*, *prairie*, *canyon*,

[1] *Ketch*, Spenser's form of the word, is, to many educated people, the only natural pronunciation, and *catch* a purely literary affectation. There is a certain pleasant irony in the fact that in the strictly analogous word *keg* it is the pronunciation *kag* that is regarded as a vulgarism.

[2] The real objection to such expressions as *guess* and *right away*, as to *quite so* and *I mean to say*, lies not in themselves but in their monotonous employment as catch-words.

and all the others that have become a part of the general stock of English. *Stores* in the Western world (the usage is not confined to the United States) really were stores and not shops. Our most common *corn* was maize, and it naturally became *corn* par excellence. *Fall* (*autumn*) and *rare* (*underdone*) are "Americanisms" only in the sense that they have retained a vitality here which even in England they have not wholly lost. Political life, sport, changed economic conditions, have all furnished the language with new words, or old words in new senses. The most striking differences, however, have come about, not through the retention of dialect words or the introduction of new words for new ideas, but because American English, in its comparative isolation, has not followed step by step the many changes that have occurred in British English since the seventeenth century. American English is in some respects archaic. It has never developed, for example, the swooping diphthongs that, since the end of the eighteenth century at least, have characterized the British pronunciation of *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*,[1] to represent which the British phoneticians write *say*, *be*, *boat*, and *do* [sei], [bij], [bout], [duw]. The American diphthongs, so far as they exist, are much less noticeable. The characteristic American unrounding of [o] to [a], *got*, *not* [gat], [nat], occurs in some of the British dialects and was an elegant affectation in the days of Charles II. The palatal *g* and *c* still sometimes heard in the Virginia pronunciation of *garden* and *card* (written "gyarden," "cyard") were held by many in eighteenth-century England to be the height of refinement. The old distinction between *hoarse* (vowel of *no*) and *horse* (vowel of *law*) is still preserved by many Americans, especially outside the Middle States. Elizabethan *gotten* and the old preterite *ate* are heard oftener in America than in Britain. Americans, indeed, look on a pronunciation "et" as vulgar. They have either never lost or have, for the most part, successfully recovered the ancient distinction between the voiceless initial in *which* and the voiced in *witch*, where the South Briton pronounces them both *witch*.

Finally, the so-called broad or Italian *a*, which began to be fashionable in England near the close of the eighteenth century, never established itself outside of New England and, to some

[1] In phonetic notation vowels should be given their Continental sounds.

extent, in Virginia, except in *father*, before *r* (*car*, *arm*), and somewhat uncertainly before *lm* (*calm*, *psalm*). The American, then, who pronounces *pass*, *dance*, *aunt*, with the vowel of *hand* does only what all the authorities before the last quarter of the eighteenth century told him to do, and what apparently everybody in England did do who wished to avoid an appearance of vulgarity.

Certain anomalous British forms, of comparatively recent origin, have never become established in America. The pronunciation of *wrath* as if *wroth*, and the occasional pronunciation of the latter with long ō, are seldom (one dare not say never) heard in America. *Wrath* (with the vowel of *law*) does not seem to be older than the end of the eighteenth century, and *wroth* (with the vowel of *no*) is a recent attempt to distinguish anew between the words. Another anomaly is *schedule*, commonly pronounced by the British with *sh*. The earlier pronunciation of this French word was *sedyul*, and it might have retained this pronunciation in spite of its classical spelling, just as *schism* has done. But the spelling suggests other classical analogies like *scholar* and *scheme*, and this pronunciation followed by American English seems to offer the only reasonable alternative to *sedyul*. What analogy the British pronunciation follows is not easy to see; one hesitates now to urge afresh the old suggestion that in this word, as in *schist*, the determining influence is German.

The pronunciation of *either*, *neither*, with the diphthong of *eye*, which is not recorded before the eighteenth century, has met with better reception in America. It was Franklin's pronunciation. But with many of the persons who use it it is a conscious affectation. The Elizabethan pronunciations, it may be noted, were "ayther," "nayther," just as the Irishman still says it, and "ether," "nether," to rhyme with *leather*. The ordinary American pronunciation is the representative of the former type; the latter seems to have left no modern descendants.

Besides being in some respects more conservative, American English has in still other respects grown apart from British English through following different analogies. The question how an English word shall be pronounced breaks up at once into a whole set of queries. Shall it be pronounced as a Latin word,

a French word, or as a more or less domesticated form of either? What other word is it like? Shall the spelling be allowed full weight? In general, of two forms already in existence which shall be preferred? To such questions it is only to be expected that the two countries should in many instances make different responses.

British English frequently makes more effort to imitate a modern French pronunciation in *trait*, *chamois*, *turquoise*, *charade*, *imbecile*, and *vase*, where Americans frankly accept them as native words. It is, however, the French tradition rather than the Latin which Americans follow in preferring [i] to [ai] forms in the terminations *-ide*, *-ine*, *-itis*, *-ique*.

Dr. Johnson's spelling has undergone some simplification in both countries: *almanack*, *musick*, *errour*, *horrour*, *interiour*, *successour*, *emperour*, *oratour*, have everywhere dropped unnecessary letters. The abandonment of the French *-our* for Latin *-or* has gone a little further in the American printing-houses; *honour*, *humour*, *vigour*, *harbour*, *labour*, *neighbour*, *valour*, *clamour*, *clangour*, *saviour*, and a few others have joined the overwhelming majority of *-or* words. British men of letters could be cited who have employed the same simplification. Other French spellings like *theatre* and *centre* are less common in America than in England. Parallel to the simplification of *almanac(k)* are *wag(g)on*, *travel(l)er*. Of the British attempts to distinguish by the spelling *story*, narrative (plural *stories*), from *storey*, floor (pl. *storeys*), and *curb* (bit) from *kerb* (stone), the first has some etymological argument in its favour, but neither has commended itself to American usage. Britons themselves are quite as likely to spell *cider* and *pajamas* in the fashion always employed in America as they are to write *cyder* and *pyjamas*.[1]

The spelling book has exerted a powerful influence in America, where so many speakers have learned their language in the school and looked to it as a more compelling authority than the sometimes uncertain tradition of the home. The notion that all the letters of a word are entitled to a certain respect, reinforced by the native slowness of utterance, has led to the retention of unstressed vowels in *tapestry*, *medicine*, *venison*, and

[1] The spelling used in this chapter, as of this history in general, conforms ordinarily to British usage.

produced a secondary stress in such words as *secretary*, *extraordinary*. The eighteenth-century refinement of "dropping the *g*" in *going*, *seeing*, which still persists as a "smart" pronunciation in England, almost all Americans, though they use it oftener than they could be got to confess, would regard with horror because it violates what seems to them the obvious principle that all the letters should be pronounced. The same state of mind leads to the retention of *h* in *hotel*, *hostler*, reinforces the distinction between *w* and *wh*, and induces many to persist in pronouncing an *r* final and before consonants, in spite of the frankly expressed disgust even of their own countrymen of the East and South. *Figure* has lost its fine old pronunciation ("figger") for a spelling pronunciation "figyure." As for *lieutenant*, Coxe (1813, p. 36) notes that "*lef-tenant* prevails most generally, but *lew-tenant* appears to be becoming more popular"; spelling has now completely carried the day. Out of deference to spelling Americans pronounce a *g* in *physiognomy*, *recognizance*, and sometimes even in *suggest*.

Enough has been offered in support and illustration of the contention that the roots of American speech lie deep in history. The same might be done for less literary speech. Lowell established the antiquity of much in the Yankee dialect of his Hosea Biglow, and it is to be presumed that research, of which there has been far too little in this field, may establish the antiquity, if nothing more, of many other dialectical peculiarities.[1] There is not an oddity in the "coarse, uncouth dialect" of the Deerslayer and Hurry Harry (*The Deerslayer*, 1841) that has not its root deep in the soil of the eighteenth and preceding centuries.[2] Cooper has Noah Webster's own *creatur'*, *ventur'*, *f'erce*. *Sarpint*, *desarted*, *vartue*, *larned*, *s'ile*, *app'inted*, *expl'ite* can all be found recommended in grammars of the eighteenth century. *The Oxford Spelling Book* (1726) says that *sigh* is pronounced *sithe* "according to the common way of speaking," just as Natty Bumppo pronounces it. His *ven'son* is still good English. His *consait* (*conceit*), *ginerous*, *fri'nd*, *'arth* sound Irish, but that is as much as to say that they belong to the old,

[1] For the literary use of American dialects see Book III, Chap. v.

[2] An interesting list of "vulgar errors" may be found in Elliot and Johnson's *A Selected Pronouncing and Accented Dictionary*, Suffield [Conn.], 1800, p. 16.

authentic vernacular; they cannot be made to serve as illustrations of any wanton perversity on the part of Americans.

But cannot all these historical reasons for American English being what it is be granted (and they pretty generally are) and still leave us facing a very desperate situation about which something should be done? History, after all, brings no solution to the problem which it helps to define. It does not furnish a standard, it can only show us the steps by which all present English has gone very badly astray. But a standard is precisely what is wanted; lack of standard, our academy was quite persuaded, is what ails American English. Enough has been said already to suggest the hopelessness of finding such a standard in literary South British. Just what sort of folly that leads to may be seen in the case of the academician who lamented that Americans wrote *toward* when an Englishman, "following the established usage of prose," wrote *towards*. *Towards* is not the established usage of prose, and quite as many Englishmen write *toward* as *towards*. All that the academician can mean is that he personally prefers *towards*. No one could deny him the privilege of choosing, but no one would attach the slightest significance to his choice either way. Much the same can be said of most of the differences of detail between literary English in America and the same thing in England; they are too trivial to be worth much trouble in trying to remove them.

But even the attempt to remove these peculiarities of American English in deference to some standard outside itself may work harm vastly greater than it is proposed to help. If English had remained the literary language of a small homogeneous group, who like the Athenians could consent instantly in the pleasure of jeering a misplaced accent, the single and precise kind of standard which some critics of English seem to have in mind might have been successfully applied to it. But English has become the common possession of many scattered peoples. It is quite possible that this involves some sacrifice with some gain. English can hardly become the adequate expression of so varied a human experience, the medium of so many diverse men, without losing something in the direction of perfect uniformity as against its gains in range. This expansion has its too evident dangers, but to try to correct them by a single narrow standard is not only impossible; it is

harmful in its results just so far as it breeds in the mind of speakers and writers an uneasy feeling that really good English is something vaguely and beautifully beyond them, something they can never hope to attain to, something so high and delicate that they would not care to use it if they could get it, certainly not for even the best moments of every day.

This brings us to the very centre of the problem. The trouble with American English, it might reasonably be urged, is that it has been so constantly disparaged in comparison with a standard so vague, so remote, so "superior," but of so little practical guidance, that the fine sense of possession, the feeling that the way one goes about one's *mores* is inevitably the right way, has been in many cases completely lost. "I say 'dawg,'" said an American teacher of English, "but I know 'dahg' is correct and I make my pupils say it." We can be sure that her pupils do not say "dahg" outside the classroom, and carry away with them only a conviction that "good English" is something with which they can and will have nothing to do.

"All this is very different in English English," says another of our academicians. "They believe in English and have the ideal of good usage." But the standard, it should be noted, is a native standard; it is fairly well defined; it is not impossible of attainment; and it is not flagrantly at variance with the practice of the linguistic environment in which the fortunate young Britisher is being fitted by governesses, tutors, and public-school masters to take his place. Conditions so favourable must be somewhat limited in their occurrence even in England. In America those who inherit a sound native tradition in their homes are more than likely to spend large parts of their lives in regions of quite other language habits. In school they will encounter many who have been brought up in an environment distinctly foreign, the teacher even may have an unsure control of the language, and he—or more generally she—is sure to have some very extravagant and ill-informed notions of what constitutes good English. In the university they may learn a good deal about correctness in composition but will encounter no very definite standards of speech, for both teachers and students are usually drawn from all parts of the country and represent every sort of social opportunity.

All this sounds much worse than it actually turns out to be.

For English is the authentic speech of free peoples and it is endowed with an innate energy for getting along, going into strange places on strange errands, but never quite losing its sense of identity. It breeds surprisingly true, in the main, even amid the most unpromising conditions. Franklin, the cosmopolitan, said "air" for *are;* "hev" and "hez"; sounded the *l* in *would* and *calm*, and in the latter used the vowel of *hat;* uttered *new* with the vowel of *too*, and *bosom* as who should write "buzzum." Noah Webster, father of American lexicography, advocated the pronunciations "creatur," "natur," "raptur"; *angel* with the vowel of *hat*, *chamber* with that of *father; fierce* and *pierce* were to rhyme with *verse, beard* with *third*, and *deaf* with *thief;* the present pronunciation of *heard* and *wound* he regarded as new and objectionable. With such a start what might not American English have become? Without any external compulsion, without any very clearly expressed ideals, however, American English has kept pace step by step in these particulars with the development of British English.

The problem of American English resides, then, not in its differences from British English, nor yet in its own infinite variety—here history is both enlightening and consoling—but in the attitude which it adopts toward itself. It is not as good as it might be—no language is so in its entirety, because people are not so wise and well-bred, so sensitively in touch with the best of literature and of life as they might be—but to make itself better it has no reasonable standards to look to. It has held up to it silly ideals, impossible ideals, ignorant dogmatisms, and for the most part it wisely repudiates them all. But in so doing it is left with a diminished self-respect. Excellence is not for it. Why bother about the impossible? We shall get along. Not thus, however, is bred that subtle atmosphere of linguistic authenticity, the inevitableness of the thing rightly said, which is the peasant's by inheritance and to which the man of letters attains by giving his toilsome nights to much else beside Addison. The great mass of men lies between, the many who write and are not great writers, the many who talk not so well as they might; where in irritation and bewilderment may they look?

"All this is very different in English English." Here, quite possibly, is a hint of some value. One can hardly

suppose that there is any very determined effort to make Scottish boys and girls acquire what Arnold Bennett calls a Kensingtonian accent. There is a distinct and well recognized standard of North British, as well as South British. American English has a history that entitles it to consideration. It has certain peculiarities of vocabulary. Let them be kept; half of them will be adopted by the rest of the English-speaking world, the other half will be liked by them if the American who uses them is otherwise likable, and above all if he uses them as if they were authentically his. The well of English has never mistaken increase for defilement. The American is traditionally supposed to have a "nasal twang." If any allow air to leak through the nasal passage when it should be closed (a characteristic of unrefined English outside of America); if any speak with a certain constriction of the muscles of the nose and upper lip, with a certain shrillness and thinness of voice (and many do), let them be taught not to do it. That is something worth making a fight for. But let them not give up the cool, deliberate, level tone, with half a laugh in it, which shall be the mark of the American in whatever part of the world his destiny calls him. Let his restrained speech keep to the unemphatic forms of the verb *to be* which it has instinctively preferred. *Were* ("wear") and *been* ("bean") are emphatic forms that sort well with the highly energized speech of South Britain, with its sudden changes of speed and pitch, its great expenditure of breath.

American English is not uniform. But neither is British English uniform. Only a dead language, or the language of a highly centralized country, or a more or less artificial literary language, can approach uniformity. But American English falls into clearly recognizable groups that are not too many to handle in the sensible way in which the British regard the several types of English of their own islands. By all means recognize an English of New England, an English of the Middle States, of the South, and of the West. To attempt to harmonize them in an impossible unity is only to confirm them in their several peculiarities. It would be wiser to direct the attack against those peculiarities which are a little too peculiar. If the New Englander shortens his long *o*'s, if the New Yorker confuses *voice* and *verse* in an absurd diphthong that both misleads and

offends, if the Southerner loops and curls the diphthong of *cow*, if the Westerner in pronouncing *r* retorts the tongue so far back upon itself that no clear vowel can be made before it, each can be told, with some hope of affecting both his belief and his practice, that such extremes have no appropriateness, are not indulged in, indeed, by the best speakers of his own region. If many Americans tend to lengthen the vowel in *frost* and *long*, that is something that can be effectively discouraged without resorting to the equally objectionable extreme of saying "frahst" and "lahng." But it is just as useless to tell a Westerner that he must not use an *r* as to tell a New Englander that he must furnish himself with one.

It is, then, not a question of one standard that does not exist against no standards at all; it is a question of sensibly recognizing several standards that do exist and making the best of them, criticizing the language of each main group according to its own standard, and not on grounds of right and wrong but on grounds of what may be regarded as appropriate. The peasant and the pedant, though one talks like a man and the other like a book, are alike in that each speaks his language in only one way; the educated man knows and employs his language in three or four ways. He has only an enlightened sense of appropriateness to guide him. But it is enough.

How to get such a sense of appropriateness widely diffused among people of widely various opportunities, is the problem of American English. It is a serious problem. With Italian-American, Yiddish-American, Scandinavian-American, German-American yammering in our ears, it is not a time for academicians to regret that we write *toward* and not *towards*, or for teachers of "oral" English to endeavour to make broad our *a*'s. Such scribal pharisaism, if it were harmless, would be amusing. But it is chiefly owing to such folly that sound and reasonable standards for American English have never come into recognition. What is needed is some knowledge of the facts, a willingness to face them with a sympathetic and rational criticism, and above all a belief that life as lived in America has a value and an atmosphere of its own. It is distinctly to be desired that British authors should write *whilst* and *different to;* we rejoice when the hero begins his dinner with "an" oyster, talks about "coals," takes "in" the *Times*, says

"directly" and "expect,"[1] and knows exactly what he means when he says "sick" and "bug," or rather knows exactly why he does not say them. We should be "very disappointed" if he did not do these things; it is all part of the British atmosphere; it goes with the very smell of the book. These things are not good or bad, right or wrong, in themselves; they are merely appropriate, or the reverse. And Americans will generally speak well when they are taught to look for the best in the speech of their neighbours, pruning the more luxuriant growths of dialect and tempering their speech in the glowing heat of the common literary tradition; no longer reluctant to speak well because "good" English is unnatural and unattainable, but conscious that a really good English, such as the world will value according to their worth as individuals and as a nation, is their rightful heritage to enter upon and enjoy.

Great things have been expected of American English in the past. A Frenchman, Roland de la Platière (1791), saw in America, a land so fortunately situated, so happily governed, with a people so constituted that they "fraternized with the universe" and presumably to be trusted to benefit by association with the primitive virtues of Indians and negroes, the country which was most likely to develop its speech into a universal language. Whitman, in the notes published as *An American Primer*, dug deep in the recesses of language for a word-hoard that should be distinctly American, and rolled the aboriginal names—Monongahela—with venison richness upon his palate. He saw an America cleared of all names that smack of Europe, an American vocabulary enriched with many words not in the print of dictionaries.

> American writers are to show far more freedom in the use of words. . . . Ten thousand native idiomatic words are growing, or are today already grown, out of which vast numbers could be used by American writers, with meaning and effect—words that would be welcomed by the nation, being of the national blood—words that would give that taste of identity and locality which is so dear in literature.

No such drastic Americanization of the language as was prophesied has come to pass, or is likely to come to pass. The

[1] In the senses of *as soon as* and *suppose*, not unheard, indeed, in America.

old dream of an America *penitùs divisa* was grievously troubled at Manila Bay and ended for ever at Château Thierry. A literary America apart was never even a possibility. Henceforward there is less excuse—if there ever was any—for emphasizing differences merely as differences. The burden of this chapter has been to crave a certain intelligent respect for what exists. And it is directed mainly, perhaps, at the theorizings of men of letters, of all amateur critics of language, and at the practice of most school teachers, who so peculiarly hold the destinies of American speech in their hands. American writers have generally been bold enough. Emerson, Whitman, Mark Twain—but that is the subject of this whole work and needs no recapitulation in a final chapter. The wish to see things afresh and for himself is indeed so characteristic of the American that neither in his speech nor his most considered writing does he need any urging to seek out ways of his own. He refuses to carry on his verbal traffic with the well-worn counters; he will always be new-minting them. He is on the lookout for words that say something; he has "a sort of remorseless and scientific efficiency in the choice of epithets," which the hypercritical authors of the "King's English" ascribe to Kipling, who is "americanizing us." The American's slang is not made up of words that look like words, as is the case with much British slang, but words that are things, images; grotesque, preposterous, perhaps, but born of a quick fancy. He has an Elizabethan love of exuberant language. The highfalutin' spread-eagleism of the old-fashioned Fourth of July oration, the epistolary style of Lorenzo Altisonant in his *Letters of Squire Pedant*, who "merged his plumous implement of chirography into the atramented fluid," the sort of polysyllabic eloquence of which Holmes and Lowell made such excellent fun, now linger perhaps only in the columns of the rural weekly newspaper and in a Congressional speech which is delivered to be heard a long way off.

There is in this view of the American speech a good deal of carefully cherished tradition. No American writer has perhaps played with words as daringly as Meredith or expressed himself as whimsically as Carlyle. There is in American speech and writing a good deal of timidity, as well as audacity, quite as much colourlessness as picturesqueness. A British critic

wrote somewhere the other day of the "whitey-brown" style of American college professors. Such a charge is not directed against too great linguistic daring. A lack of pith, of raciness, an insecure hold on idiom in some of its more slippery turns might very properly be remarked in not a little American writing; in short, an anxiety to play safe in a dangerous game. There is nothing unnatural in an association of boldness and timidity. Both, however, represent excess. The discovery of the mean is the problem, and that will move toward a solution as the standards which express it are more zealously and intelligently sought within the history and present practice of American English itself.

CHAPTER XXXI

Non-English Writings I

GERMAN, FRENCH, YIDDISH[1]

I. German

THE memoirs, poems, and essays, the books of travel, fiction, and science that have been written in the German language in the United States, are of greater historical than literary interest. Their value consists in their record of human experience, mainly that of pioneers whose labours were devoted to the present, whose hopes lay in the future, yet whose meditations lingered fondly with the past. Three periods can readily be distinguished: that of the eighteenth century, in which religious writing predominated; that of the nineteenth century before 1860, the period of political idealism; and lastly, continuous from 1860, what may be called the period of opportunity. The two later periods in many instances overlap.

The name Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1719) begins the literary as well as the historical annals of the Germans in America. Pastorius, in 1683 founder of the first German settlement at Germantown, Pennsylvania, was a thorough scholar, a university man, trained in theology and law. Mortified that Latin provided a very inadequate preparation for the pioneer, he turned into service even the meanest of his accomplishments, his clean and stately handwriting, which appears in most of the documents of the new colony and most nobly in the first public

[1] The language of the people of the United States has been English even more prevailingly than their institutions and their culture. Practically every written tongue, however, is represented by newspapers designed for the use and pleasure of the various language-groups among Americans, although only German, French, and Yiddish may be said to show something like a special literature of their own.—THE EDITORS.

protest against negro slavery on record in America, made by the German Quakers of Germantown in 1688. Pastorius's familiarity with ancient and modern languages is seen in his *Hive or Beestock* (*Bienenstock*, *Melliotrophium*), his scrap-book of encyclopædic learning, in which historical, statistical, and geographical materials are mingled with epigrams and verses in many languages. More valuable is his description of Pennsylvania (*Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pennsylvania, etc.*), a collection of letters and reports sent to his father and published by the latter in book form.[1] The manuscript verse-collections, *Voluptates Apianæ* and *Deliciæ Hortenses* reveal Pastorius as a cultivator of bees and flowers. "He who never has a garden, and knows naught of flowers, and never looks back into the earthly paradise,—he is but a slave and serf of the plough, and is accursed," said Pastorius the teacher, caring not solely for the progress of his pupils in the three R's or even in Latin, and fearing the engrossing materialism of the pioneer's existence.

Contemporary with Pastorius, most quaint and curious, are the odes and theosophical writings of John Kelpius and his mystic brotherhood, called *The Woman in the Wilderness*. Yet more impressive still is their act of awaiting in the American forest the end of the world, forecast to come at the close of the century by the mystic astronomer Zimmermann, who died on the eve of embarkation for the New World in 1693. No hermit in the African desert was ever more sincere in his flight from the world's temptations or more devout in his communion with the Divine Spirit than Kelpius in his dingy cavern by the banks of the Wissahickon, then beyond the area of settlement. His anxious soul, shedding a mystic brightness upon the gloom of the wilderness, long pleaded in vain to be released from the bonds of the flesh:

> Tormenting love, O sweetest pain, delay,
> O delay not longer the blessed day!
> Speed on the time, let the hour come!
> Remember the covenant graciously sealed,
> In faith, to the whole world be it revealed![2]

[1] See Bibliography.

[2] Ode IX. *Ein verliebtes Girren der trostlosen Seele in der Morgendämmerung.*

There followed the hymns of the monks and nuns of the Ephrata cloister, led by Conrad Beissel, the seceding Dunker. His monastery, near the Cocalico in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, remains to this day the most interesting architectural relic of eighteenth-century sectarianism. Beissel wrote a treatise on harmony, the first crude attempt made in America to compose sacred music, a quarter of a century before William Billings published his *New England Psalm Singer*. The chorus singing of the brothers and sisters at Ephrata was well reputed in colonial times, visitors commenting on "the impressive cadence of the chorals and hymns of the combined choirs," and "the peculiar sweetness and weird beauty of the song of the sisterhood." Hymn books were printed for them by Franklin in 1730, 1732, and 1736, by Saur in 1739, and subsequently by their own Ephrata press, the most complete edition being that of 1766, entitled *Das Paradisische Wunderspiel*. The hymn book of 1739 (*Zionitischer Weyrauch-Hügel oder Myrrhen-Berg*) had already been a stupendous collection consisting of 654 songs and an appendix with 38 more, 820 pages in all. The edition of 1766 was even larger, with 441 songs by Beissel alone, and an equal number by others, divided into songs by the brothers, the sisters, and the laity. All were asserted to have been written in America for the Ephrata monastery, though the models for them can be found in the German hymns of the seventeenth century. The theme of the amorous soul awaiting the coming bridegroom, and the rhetoric of the sentimental pastorals of the Silesian poets, reappear in these crude though well-intentioned lyrical effusions. Many other collections were published, as the hymns of the Schwenkfelders, Moravians, and of other sects or individuals, but in form and content not differing essentially from the types described.

The most noted German press during colonial times was that of Christopher Saur, established in 1738 and continuing for forty years, the son of the same name succeeding his father. In the first year there appeared a High German Calendar, which became a very popular and useful institution, published annually. The greatest achievement of the Saur press was the Lutheran Bible, both Testaments complete, issued in 1743.[1] As the preface stated, this was the first time in the Western

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XXIX.

Hemisphere that the Scriptures had been printed in a European language; the Bible of John Eliot (Cambridge, 1661–1663), had been a translation and adaptation in the language of one of the North American Indian tribes. Saur's Bible, containing 1272 pages, was printed in quarto form, on paper manufactured in Germantown and with German types imported from Frankfort-on-the-Main. The second edition appeared in 1763, and a third in 1776. Saur also printed the New Testament and Psalter in separate editions, a large number of hymn-books for various sects, and some hundred and fifty books and pamphlets on a variety of subjects. His most influential serial publication was his newspaper, *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich*, at first a monthly, finally a weekly. The changes in the title to *Berichte*, and to *Sammlung "wahrscheinlicher" Nachrichten*, bear witness to Saur's sense of responsibility and his love of truth. In 1753 the paper had four thousand readers, spread over all the areas of German settlements, from Pennsylvania to Georgia.

The only worthy rival of Saur's Germantown newspaper was that published by Henry Miller in Philadelphia, *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, founded in 1762 and continuing to 1779. Miller had had an exceptionally wide experience in Europe, having plied his trade in Hamburg, Basel, Paris, and London, and sojourned and laboured in numerous other European centres. Naturally his horizon was larger, and his attitude more objective and progressive than could be expected of the younger Saur, whose views were narrowed by provincial and sectarian conditions, in which he had spent all his life. Nevertheless the personality of Saur, as it appears in his paper, was more impressive, his manner more intensely serious, his attitude toward the daily life and customs of the Pennsylvania German farmers more deeply sympathetic. Being the conservative guardian of their language and religion, he opposed the free public schools as too powerful an assimilating agent; being a member of the non-resistant Dunker sect and the spokesman for the sectarian doctrines in general, he was, when the revolutionary agitation arose, a pacifist, though not a Tory. Henry Miller, on the other hand, was from the beginning an aggressive agitator for the cause of independence and armed resist-

ance, as he had been an earnest advocate of the free public schools. His paper circulated not among the sectarians, but among the much larger bodies of Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian Germans of Pennsylvania and neighbouring colonies. During the stormy period preceding the Revolution Miller's *Staatsbote* was unquestionably by far the most influential German newspaper, while Saur's *Germantowner Zeitung* declined hopelessly.

As many as thirty-eight newspapers printed in the German language appeared between the years 1732 and 1801. Many of them had a very short life, among them the first attempt, the fortnightly *Philadelphische Zeitung*, a German edition of Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Copies of twenty-five of the thirty-eight German newspapers of the eighteenth century have come down to us, and of the six most important among them an abundant supply has survived to testify to their character and circulation. Of Saur's paper about 350 issues are available, between 1739 and 1777; of Miller's *Staatsbote* about 900, published between 1762 and 1779; of the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* more than 950, between 1781 and 1800; of the *Germantauner Zeitung* (not Saur's) 246, between 1785 and 1793; of the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancäster Zeitung* 465, between 1787 and 1800; of the *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung* about 600, between 1789 and 1800. To this list of leading papers there should be added one born very near the end of the century, the *Reading Adler*, which lasted for more than a century, from 1796 to 1917, and of which complete files exist.[1]

Postbellum newspapers in German were more numerous than German papers before 1780, and especially toward the end of the century, during the party strife between Federalists and Republicans, was there an acceleration of newspaper production in the German language. *Facile princeps* among them was the *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, established in 1781. It lived for more than thirty years, though with many vicissitudes. Its best period was the first decade of its career, when its publisher, Steiner, secured as editors the two Lutheran ministers the Rev. J. C. Kunze and the Rev. J. H. C. Helmuth,

[1] The statistics in the above paragraph are taken from the investigations of James O. Knauss. See Bibliography.

also well known as professors at the Philadelphia Academy, the parent of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1782 English papers published translations from its news columns, and in 1788 the paper had a considerable number of readers in Germany, facts which support the reputation of the editors Kunze and Helmuth for having established a good news service, and for having written the paper in a good German style, which the native German recognized as his own language.

To the literature of the eighteenth century belong the extensive reports and letters by Lutheran ministers in America to the church's fathers at home. Thus the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, addressed to the Lutheran ministerium in Halle, carefully written with minute details by the Rev. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, patriarch of the Lutheran church in America, and by other Lutheran ministers, give us an authentic picture not only of the beginnings and growth of the Lutheran Church in America but also of pioneer conditions in many of the colonies. Similarly the *Urlsperger Nachrichten*, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Urlsperger at Augsburg, give us an intimate view of the Salzburgers of Georgia and the beginnings of the Lutheran church in the South. The *Diaries of Moravian Missionaries* (Brothers Schnell, Gottschalk, and Spangenberg), who visited the frontier settlements, travelling mostly on foot, from Western Pennsylvania, to the Valley of Virginia, and through trackless wastes to the western settlements of North Carolina, thence to the coast, in 1743–1748, are a wonderful record of modest courage and splendid sacrifice. Dark in colouring is the picture drawn by Gottlieb Mittelberger in his *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750 und Rückreise 1754*, in which the misfortunes of immigrants on the sea and their slavery on land is painted with terrifying realism. More judicial is Achenwall in his *Anmerkungen über Nordamerika* (1769), or J. D. Schöpf in his *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten Staaten . . . in den Jahren 1783 und 1784*. Very interesting are the letters of Hessian soldiers, who fought for the English king, found in Eelking, Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, and elsewhere,[1] or the letters of the Baroness von Riedesel, the wife of the Brunswick general who was captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga. Her letters describe the whole of the disastrous British cam-

[1] See Bibliography.

paign, and subsequent to that the journey from Canada to Virginia, and thence several times back and forth to New York in the expectation of release from captivity. Among the mercenary soldiers stationed in Canada was the German poet J. G. Seume, who had been kidnapped by recruiting officers and forced into foreign military service against his will. Seume's autobiography, *Mein Leben*, records his experiences in America closing with 1784, and many of his best poems were inspired during this period, among them the ballad *Der Wilde*, which contains the oft-quoted phrase *Europas übertünchte Höflichkeit*, in antithesis to the blunt simplicity but genuine hospitality of nature's children.

Newspapers in the German language declined in quality in the early nineteenth century until the coming of the political refugees of the thirties and forties, when increasing numbers of German immigrants created a demand for newspapers in their own language. Among the early foundations which extended their influence beyond the close of the nineteenth century were the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, founded in 1834; the *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis), in 1835; and the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, in 1836. The years succeeding the German revolution of 1848–1849 brought a large number of liberal leaders to the United States, who founded new journals or infused new life into the old, and aided in shaping public opinion in favour of abolition and union.

German travellers in the United States became more frequent in the second decade of the nineteenth century, and their books and stories were instrumental in accelerating and directing the tide of German immigration. Thus Duden's *Berichte über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri, 1824–27*, started the great mass of German settlements on both banks of the Missouri River. Subsequently pamphlets and books on Texas and Wisconsin directed immigration to those states. To the travel literature[1] of the earlier periods belong the books of Fürstenwärther (1818), Gall (1822), Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar (1828), Duden (1829, etc.), Von Raumer (1845), Büttner (1845), Löher (1847), Fröbel (1853–58), and Busch (1854). Since then a host of others have appeared, ranging

[1] See Bibliography for titles.

from the scientific and critical works of Ratzel (*Kultur-geographie der Vereinigten Staaten*), Polenz (*Das Land der Zukunft*), Goldberger (*Das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten*), von Skal (*Das amerikanische Volk*), to the popular pictorial books of Karl Knortz and Rudolf Cronau.

Contemporaneous with travel literature and the ever present *Ratgeber*, or counsellor for immigrants, there appeared a growing array of romances and literary sketches by German writers who had travelled in America, by some also who had not. The latter were severely critical, as Kürnberger in his *Amerikamüde* (1855), a title antithetic to Willkomm's *Europamüde* (1838), with a plot based in part on the poet Lenau's unfortunate experiences in America. The former placed a romantic halo about life in the New World, painting the noble red man in the manner of Chateaubriand and Cooper, and portraying types of frontier and pioneer life that compare not unfavourably with what was done in this department by American writers. Foremost among them was the Austrian Charles Sealsfield ("Karl Postl"), proud to call himself "Bürger von Nordamerika," who held up to view virile, reckless, self-reliant types of American manhood as objects for emulation to enthralled Europeans. Longfellow was especially fond of Sealsfield's depictions of the Red River country and its Creole inhabitants. The *Cabin Book* (*Das Cajütenbuch*) has for its historical setting the Texan war of independence against Mexican misrule. *Morton oder die grosse Tour* presents a view of Stephen Girard's money-power and personal eccentricities. *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre* introduces the lure of pioneer life, with its gallery of Southern planters, hot-tempered Kentuckians, Eastern belles and dandies, alcaldes, squatters and desperadoes, American types as they appeared between 1820–1840. Sealsfield's Mexican stories (*Virey, Nord und Süd*) contain nature pictures in wonderful colours, a striking instance of which is found also in the *Cabin Book*, in the chapter called "The Prairie of St. Jacinto."

Second to Sealsfield is Friedrich Gerstäcker, a great traveller and hunter in both North and South America. Ready to take up his gun and depend upon it for his daily subsistence where nature was wildest and game most plentiful anywhere from the Missouri to the Amazon and beyond, he spent many years

roaming about aimlessly before he discovered his ability with the pen. He found friends interested in his *Streif und Jagdzüge durch die Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas* (1844), and he turned to fiction. There followed rapidly upon one another *Die Regulatoren von Arkansas* (*1845*); *Die Flusspiraten des Mississippi*, and other Mississippi pictures (1847–1848); *Gold, Ein Californisches Lebensbild* (*1856*)—all blending fiction and actual experience. His most popular work and in many respects his best, *Nach Amerika! Ein Volksbuch* (1855), describes the fortunes of a shipload of German immigrants landing at New Orleans and making their way up the Mississippi for permanent settlement. Industry and honesty, after learning to adapt themselves to new conditions, succeed in Gerstäcker's works, while unsteady character and indolence are given stern justice. Gerstäcker cannot be accused of arousing false hopes, for he draws with a realistic pen, and does not fail to emphasize the hardships and disappointments of frontier life. His heart is with the immigrant rather than with the older settler, against whom he warns repeatedly. Similarly Otto Ruppius in his *Der Pedlar* (1857) and its sequel *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars* (1859) aims to give a just view of the German immigrant and refugee in America, and his books deserved their popularity. Friedrich Strubberg, who wrote under the pen-name Armand, was a voluminous writer whose best works are those descriptive of the German frontier settlements in Texas, e. g. *Friedrichsburg, die Kolonie des deutschen Fürstenvereins in Texas* (1867), for he had lived there for many years, on the vanguard of civilization. His *Carl Scharnhorst, Abenteuer eines deutschen Knaben in Amerika* (1863) remains one of the most popular German stories for boys, while many of his other works stray widely in the realm of fiction without Baron Münchhausen's saving grace of humour. Balduin Möllhausen, the last of the popular writers of exotic romances, was employed on several United States Government exploring expeditions in the Far West as artist and topographer, and during this time he learned to know the Western Indians well and became an authority on the physiography of sparsely settled areas. His first account of his travels in 1858 was introduced by Alexander von Humboldt, his second, three years later, was also of scientific merit, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord Amer-*

ikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexiko. Then he turned to fiction, fully able to give his countless stories a setting in Western American life but handicapped by a fatal facility both in sketching characters and weaving entertaining plots. *The Halbindianer,* his first novel, compares favourably with his later work. *Die Familie Neville* is a three-volume novel with the background of the Civil War. *Das Mormonenmädchen* (1864) was a timely warning for European girls against the practices of Mormon missionaries in Germany and Switzerland before governments intervened.

Throughout the nineteenth century a great mass of lyrics were written by cultivated Germans in the United States. They are scattered in journals and booklets and have only in part become accessible in anthologies.[1] They sang the praises of America, her political freedom, resources, and natural beauties; they also voiced a love of the German mother-tongue, the language of poetry. To the rich and abundant harvest of song in German literature they contributed nothing new, except it be an occasional note of homesickness, the melancholy of expatriation. The following may serve as illustrations: Franz Lieber (*Der Niagara*), K. H. Schnauffer (*Turnermarsch*), E. Dorsch (*Californien*, 1849), J. Dresel (*Auswanderers Schicksal*), J. Gugler (*Vaterlandslos*), H. A. Rattermann ("Reimmund," *Aphorismen und Agrionien*), Konrad Krez (*An mein Vaterland*, the best of the songs of this type), B. Brühl ("Kara Giorg," *Poesien des Urwalds*), T. Kirchoff (*California*, *Das Stille Meer*), F. C. Castelhuhn (*Zweihundertjährige Jubelfeier der deutschen Einwanderung, den 6. Oktober*, 1883). Recent contributors, and more modern in spirit are: Martin Drescher (*Gedichte*), Fernande Richter ("Edna Fern," *Gedichte und Erzählungen*), Konrad Nies (*Funken Auswestlichen Weiten*), a master of form, though not surpassing G. S. Viereck, whose poems (*Niniveh und andre Gedichte*) and prose works (*The House of the Vampire, A Game of Love and other Plays*, etc.) were well rendered into English by himself.

Excellent translations of American authors were furnished by the poet Udo Brachvogel, who translated the works of Bret Harte and Aldrich; by Franz Siller, of Longfellow's poems; by Eduard Leyh, of Joaquin Miller's *Arizonian.* Some original dramas performed in German theatres of this country were:

[1] See Bibliography.

Udo Brachvogel's *Narciss;* E. A. Zündt's *Jugurtha;* Mathilde Giesler-Anneke's *Oithono;* P. J. Reusz's *Tippo Saib, and others;* K. Lorenz's *Das Schandmal* (a tragedy based on Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*); V. Precht's *Jakob Leisler;* A. Schafmeyer's *Ehrliche Menschen;* Wilhelm Müller's *Festspiel, Im gelobten Lande Amerika,* and *Ein lateinischer Bauer.*

Among writers of novels Reinhold Solger gave great promise in his *Anton in Amerika,* but an early death ended his career. L. A. Wollenweber, for a long time editor of the *Philadelphia Demokrat,* wrote sketches of Pennsylvania German life. Udo Brachvogel's *König Korn* is a picture of Western farm life. Mediocre sketches such as those of Stürenburg (*Klein Deutschland*) or J. Rittig (*Federzeichnungen aus dem amerikanischen Stadtleben*) appeared in great numbers. Max Arlberg wrote a socialistic novel called *Joseph Freifeld.* R. Puchner's *Anna Ruland* and H. Bertsch's *Die Geschwister,* or *Bob der Sonderling,* are worthy of mention in a list that might be prolonged. Among very recent works Bernhard Kellermann's *Der Tunnel* (1913), a fantastic dream of tunnelling the Atlantic, seems to indicate some experience or residence in the United States.

The distinction of having been the master of German prose in America belongs to the brilliant Robert Reitzel (1849–1898). He is of the type of the lyrical poets and essayists who arose in Germany during the eighties, like the brothers Hart, Arno Holz, and Karl Henckell, the last of whom Reitzel often mentions as his personal friend. Like these modern "Stürmer und Dränger," Reitzel defies arbitrary power, loves truth even to a pose; he is the herald of a new socialistic age, a spokesman for the submerged class, the proletariat. Yet the most fascinating subject of his clear and sparkling prose is his own egocentric personality, a characteristic of the poet Heine, whose influence upon Reitzel is obvious. Reitzel's self-portraiture is seen to best advantage in his *Abenteuer eines Grünen,* the story of his life, including his initial hardships in America, when the grinding wheel of fortune made a tramp of him. But even as an outcast he keenly felt the poetry of existence:

> Ich lobe mir das Leben,
> Juhei! als Vagabund,
> Mich drücken keine Sorgen;
> Frei bin ich alle Stund;

Die Erde ist mein Lager,
Der Himmel ist mein Dach,
Und mit den Vög'lein werd' ich
Des morgens wieder wach.

Rescued from despair by a German minister in Baltimore, he completed a course of study for the ministry already begun abroad, and he soon accepted a charge. But fortune again turned against him, when the congregation recognized in him a freethinker. Once more a wanderer, he lectured for some years and in many places, until he finally found liberal friends in Detroit who supplied the means in 1884 for his favourite wish, a weekly literary paper. This he named *Der arme Teufel*, and into it he poured his soul for the remaining fourteen years of his life. A kindred spirit, the poet Martin Drescher, collected some of his writings in *Mein Buch* (1900); a larger collection was published in a limited edition soon after by the Reitzel Club of Detroit, under the title *Des armen Teufel gesammelte Schriften*. Reitzel's poems are hardly less noteworthy for their form than his prose. They betray an influence of Heine and Nietzsche, though not sufficient to obscure a style of his own.

Dialect literature has been popular with Germans in America for its humorous element mainly. We find low German dialects in the works of Lafrentz and Bornemann, but the most successful imitation of Plattdeutsch in Carl Münter's *Nu sünd wi in Amerika*. Dietzsch, Heerbrandt, and Bürkle have imitated high German dialects, the first-named that of the Palatinate, the latter two the Swabian speech. The Hessian dialect appears in a most amusing little book by Georg Asmus, called *Amerikanisches Skizzebüchelche, Eine Epistel in Versen*, in which an immigrant of little cultivation but considerable native wit writes home to his uncle about the strange things that happened to him in America (1874). The method of mingling broken English with German dialect to heighten the comical effect was used by Asmus and also by Karl Adler (*Mundartlich Heiteres*), but the greatest popular success in this department was achieved by the American writer Charles Godfrey Leland[1] in his *Hans Breitmann's Ballads*, a caricature that has often been wrongly taken as a truthful picture of existing conditions—just as Ir-

[1] See Book III, Chap. IX.

ving's *Knickerbocker History* has been of Dutch New York. Sometimes *Breitmann's Ballads* are erroneously placed under the head of Pennsylvania German dialect literature.

The so-called Pennsylvania German (or Dutch) dialect is a speech-form based upon South-German dialects of the eighteenth century, upon which English speech-forms were grafted. Since the German immigrants of the eighteenth century came mostly from the Palatinate and the Upper Rhine country, the dialect of those sections prevailed in their daily intercourse among the Germans of Pennsylvania and neighbouring provinces. Being in constant contact also with English-speaking people, an English word-stock, especially of objects and affairs new to them, was imposed upon their dialect, while contact with modern literary German of the nineteenth century practically ceased. Pennsylvania German, being isolated, had an independent growth, which is exceedingly interesting to the philologist.[1] Its tendency, as time goes on, is to come nearer and nearer the English language until German disappears. Though the Pennsylvania German dialect undoubtedly assumed definite form much earlier, written records of it did not appear before the last half of the nineteenth century. The most prominent name among the poets who wrote in the dialect is that of Henry Harbaugh, a collection of whose poems was published posthumously in 1870, under the title *Harbaugh's Harfe.* Most of his poems appeared also in English translations by the poet, such as his much appreciated verses on *The Old Schoolhouse on the Creek,* beginning:

Today it is just twenty years
  Since I began to roam:
Now, safely back, I stand once more,
Before the quaint old school-house door,
  Close by my father's home.

In Pennsylvania German:

Heit is's 'xäctly zwanzig Johr,
Dasz ich bin owwe naus:
Nau bin ich widder lewig z'rick
Un schteh am Schulhaus an d'r Krick,
Juscht neekscht an's Dady Haus.

[1] See Bibliography for grammars and literature of the dialect.

The elegiac note also prevails in the poems *Heemweh*, *Der alte Feierheerd*, *Die alt Miehl*. We are reminded of the homely simplicity and tender pathos of the dialect poet of the Black Forest, J. P. Hebel (*Alemannische Gedichte*), as we listen to Harbaugh's *Das Krischkindel* (Santa Claus), *Busch und Schtedel* (Town and Country), *Der Kerchegang in alter Zeit* (Going to church in the old time), *Will widder Buwele sei* (I want to be a boy again). Two collections of Pennsylvania German folk-songs were published by Henry L. Fisher, entitled: *'s alt Marik-Haus mittes in d'r Schtadt*, and *Kurzweil und Zeitfertreib odder Pennsylfanisch-deutsche Folkslieder*. This anthology and the more recent collection of prose and verse in two volumes by Daniel Miller furnish pleasing pictures of country life, joyful frolics, huskings, apple-butter and quilting parties; they playfully ridicule ministerial plights and difficulties, and the follies of superstition. Some of the prose tales are traceable to sources many generations back in Swabia and the Rhineland, but in the new setting they receive a renewed charm. The Pennsylvania German dialect literature is undoubtedly the most quaint and original contribution of the older German immigrations, and it is unfortunate that no comprehensive anthology has as yet appeared. The stories in English by Elsie Singmaster Lewars are far more artistic and trustworthy depictions of the Pennsylvania Germans than the pseudo-realistic fictions of Helen Reimensnyder Martin.

The most valuable writing done by Germans in the United States has been their scholarly work, historical, autobiographical, and scientific. Works of this class have generally been published in English and therefore do not properly belong to a sketch of the literature written in German. They are books of specialists: E. W. Hilgard on soils, A. A. Michelson (Nobel prize winner) in physics, Paul Haupt and F. Hirth on Oriental languages, Drs. Jacobi and Meyer in medical research, B. E. Fernow on scientific forestry, Paul Carus as editor of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, Kuno Francke in German literature, and a group of other scholars born in Germany who held chairs in American universities and gained a wider hearing through the use of the English language in their books. Two of the ablest Germans who came to this country before 1830, Karl Follen and Francis Lieber, in their mature works used the

language of their adopted country, Follen in his essays and sermons, Lieber in his literary essays and books on political science. We can observe this tendency even earlier, in Baron Steuben's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, published in 1779 and reprinted many times for use at West Point. Others published in both languages, notably Carl Schurz, whose widely-read *Reminiscences* were first written in German, but whose speeches (with many exceptions), reports, and essays appeared mostly in English.[1] The *Memoirs* of Gustav Koerner are a fit companion piece to the autobiography of Carl Schurz, since they amplify the account of conditions in the Middle West between 1835 and 1865, and particularly the rise of the Republican party. In the historical field the crown of achievement belongs to Hermann von Holst, whose work on the constitutional and political history of the United States is generally conceded to be authoritative. It was written during the period of his professorship in the University of Chicago, and published in sections under the general title *Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*. Unfortunately the English translation is too literal and by no means does justice to the virile style of the original. Hugo Münsterberg in his *Die Amerikaner* (*American Traits*, etc.), gave a view of America from the psychologist's standpoint, a book comparable to the works of De Tocqueville and Bryce for its critical and sympathetic treatment. An historical work of merit, though little known (the poor translation is perhaps partly responsible), is that of Therese von Jakob ("Talvj"), the wife of the American Orientalist Edward Robinson, entitled *Geschichte der Colonisation von Neu-England, 1607–1692. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet.* In its wisely restricted field it is not surpassed. Among the many valuable memoirs that have been written by Germans in the United States, some of which have already been mentioned, we should not forget the reminiscences of Hans Kudlich, the emancipator of the serfs in Austria, and a secretary in the provisional revolutionary government of 1849 in the Palatinate. Others of interest are *Aus zwei Welttеilen*, by Marie Hansen-Taylor (wife of Bayard Taylor[2]); *Memoiren einer*

[1] See Bibliography for exact references to biographical works.

[2] See Book III, Chap. x.

Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzuge by Mathilde Giesler-Anneke, the ardent woman suffragist; *Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri*, by Gert Göbel; and similarly autobiographical writings of Friedrich Münch, Philip Schaff, H. Börnstein, and Carl Heinzen. Pioneers in the search for historical records of the Germans in the United States were Friedrich Kapp, Oswald Seidensticker, and H. A. Rattermann, the authors of many instructive monographs.

A concluding paragraph may well be devoted to the institution which in German-speaking communities upholds the standard of the spoken language—the theatre. The German drama has been performed in the original language continuously in New York City since 1853, though the beginnings go back as far as 1840 or earlier. When in 1866 Dawison, the greatest German actor of his day, came to the United States he received offers from two rival German theatres in New York. He accepted an extraordinarily liberal inducement from the manager of the Stadttheater, Otto Hoym, who for ten years was the leader in German theatrical ventures. Dawison's great rôles were Wallenstein, Franz Moor, Othello, Shylock, and Hamlet, and the reputation that he established was not clouded by the successes of many subsequent visiting stars. After Hoym's retirement Adolf Neuendorff, a man of high ideals, founded the Germania Theater, beginning in 1872. He imported a stock company of superior talent, including Heinrich Conried, Leon Wachsner, and Mathilde Cottrelly, all three destined to become prominent also as managers. Conried had a period of very great popularity in the rôles of Franz Moor, Mortimer, Just, Gringoire, and Dr. Klaus. In 1879–1880 the Thalia Theater was opened as a rival to the Germania, and for a number of years both theatres played to crowded houses, thanks to the high tide of German immigration in the early eighties. No expense was spared by the rivals in their efforts to offer superior attractions. Karl Sontag was the star of first magnitude at the Germania, Marie Geistinger at the Thalia. At this period the classical German drama, the comedy, the farce, the operetta were all performed with popular and artistic success. Then Neuendorff ventured too far. He left a theatre with a seating capacity of three thousand and leased Wallack's on Broadway, then the largest and finest theatre available.

He also entered into an expensive contract with the actor Haase, who proved a disappointment on this his second visit. Moreover, the popularity of Marie Geistinger stood in his way. Never before or after was there such a favourite in the German theatres. Her versatility was marvellous. She could fascinate with her singing in light operas, *Der Seekadet* or *Die schöne Galatee*, and on a succeeding night thrill an audience with her *Kameliendama* or some other tragic rôle. Neuendorff deplored the fact that she was too willing to yield to the popular taste for musical comedy, and that her great influence was leading New York audiences away from the classical drama. But the impending failure of Neuendorff was also in part his own fault, for he and the rival Thalia Theater had perverted the taste and increased the expectations of theatre-goers with an extravagant array of stars, speculating upon their curiosity and eagerness for the new and sensational. Both theatres were obliged to close their doors in spite of many striking successes. The next leader among theatrical managers was Gustav Amberg, who took over the Thalia, and subsequently in 1888 founded what was long the home of the German drama in New York, the Irving Place Theatre. Amberg started with a stock company of very indifferent merit. They could not play up to the stars (Gäste) whom he occasionally invited. Nevertheless, at the close of the season of 1887–1888 he presented a "Gastspiel" which has probably not been surpassed in the history of the German stage in America. It was the double-star cast of Barnay and Possart, when Barnay appeared in the rôles of Hamlet, Uriel Acosta, Karl Moor, Wallenstein, Tell, and Bolz, with Possart as Polonius, De Sylva, Franz Moor, Buttler, Gessler, and Schmock.

A step forward was made in the history of the German stage in New York when Heinrich Conried in 1893, on the invitation of Henry Steinway, assumed control of the Irving Place Theatre. Deeply impressed with the failures, both financial and artistic, which the starring system had produced, and an interested witness of the reforms which the *Meininger* company of players had brought about in Germany, Conried proceeded to build up a well-matched company of resident players, whose aim was not individual display of talent but an harmonious ensemble with the purpose of interpreting the genius of the

dramatic poet. It was several seasons before he had a company that could play together well enough to satisfy him, and one large or versatile enough to vary classical drama with comedy and farce and even operetta in order to guard against annual deficits. A place had to be won also for the modern drama, which was obstructed not, as in the case of the classical drama, by the indifference but by the hostility of the general public. Conried's theatre for many years remained an example and inspiration for all the German theatres of the United States, and its influence did not stop there. It was used by critics of the American stage as an object lesson for the propagation of certain reforms, particularly against the starring system. It is well-known that Conried's success with the Irving Place Theatre brought him the appointment to the managership of the Metropolitan Opera, but this was not his greatest ambition. We learn from Winthrop Ames in his account of the New Theatre,[1] that it was Conried's great aim to help in the founding of a national American theatre, based upon the principle of the resident stock company, and that if he had lived he would have been logically its first manager. With the Metropolitan Opera on his hands, Conried was obliged to neglect his German theatre company, and as a result it declined steadily until he gave it up in 1907. There followed a meteoric rise under the management of Maurice Baumfeld, and then varying fortunes under different heads, but the Irving Place Theatre never regained its important position of influence.

Second to New York was the German theatre of Milwaukee. Beginning in the fifties with amateurish performances, good traditions were established with the Stadttheater in 1868. The same struggle to maintain the classical drama along with the more popular and financially more successful comedy and farce is also to be observed in the history of the Milwaukee German theatre. Later the engagement of too many stars here also brought about an overstimulation and a perversion of taste. The stock company system rescued the situation under the management of Richard, Welb, and Wachsner, 1884–1890. Richard subsequently managed a German theatre in Chicago, Welb in St. Louis. A new home was provided in Milwaukee in 1895 by F. Papst, and in this well-equipped play-

[1] See Bibliography.

house, under the able management of Leon Wachsner, the stock company developed an artistic ensemble during some seasons not inferior to Conried's best. As at the Irving Place Theatre, stars were not altogether banished, and visits were welcomed from Sonnenthal, Kainz, and Agnes Sorma, but they were introduced toward the end of the season. A just local pride has been felt by Milwaukians in their German theatre, as is shown by the payment of heavy annual deficits incurred to keep the standard high. Many other cities with large German populations, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati, have had German theatres intermittently, with the same history: early amateur beginnings, then professional players and the star system until some skilful manager brought together a company of resident actors. A very promising foundation was the Deutsches Theater of Philadelphia, for which a handsome home was built in 1906 and successfully maintained for several seasons, until it yielded, like so many other noble theatrical ventures, to the pressure of deficits inevitable in the history of high-class theatres.

II. French

To furnish an account of the French literature of Louisiana is not a simple task. The facts that are known concerning the lives of many of the writers, particularly in the early periods, are few or none. Nor is there any complete collection of the works which comprise this literature; unique copies of important books repose in private libraries, or lie moulding in the cellars of old Creole homes.

The beginnings of Louisiana were wholly French. The colony was founded by Iberville at Biloxi, in 1699. The immigrants during the following century were for the most part well-bred, and spoke the best French; during that century it was customary for the more favoured sons to return to France for their education, so that the colony kept fairly abreast of the parent civilization. Louisiana was ceded to Spain in 1762, and although Spanish thus became the official tongue, French continued as the language of society. When the territory was purchased by the United States in 1803, French was still almost universally spoken. Not until the middle of

the nineteenth century was English the more generally employed.

Under French rule the only literature produced consisted of official accounts like the journal of Penicault, or the *Mémoire des négociants et habitants de la Louisiane sur l'événement du 29 octobre, 1768*, by Lafrénière et Caresse, of interest chiefly to historians. Under the Spaniards only a few pieces of any significance were written, and they uninspired, being altogether in the prevailing French mode. Julien Poydras, a wealthy planter, published at New Orleans in 1779 an epic poem on *La Prise du Morne du Bâton-Rouge par Monseigneur de Galvez.* Berquin Duvallon, a refugee from Santo Domingo, offered in 1801 a *Recueil de Poésies d'un Colon de Saint-Domingue*, of which *Le Colon Voyageur* is the best specimen.

It was not until after the War of 1812 that letters really flourished in French Louisiana. The contentment and prosperity that filled the forty years between 1820 and 1860 encouraged the growth of a vigorous and in some respects a native literature, comprising plays, novels, and poems.

The first drama written in Louisiana took a native theme. *Poucha-Houmma* was composed by Le Blanc de Villeneufve at the age of seventy-eight, being based upon an Indian story he had heard fifty years before while in the employ of the government among the Tchactas (Choctaws). It is a tragedy in the familiar Alexandrines, and it observes the unities. It was written, says the author, to vindicate the noble character of the Indian. The manner is that of Corneille; indeed, the play might well be called a Louisiana *Cid*. The old chief addresses his warriors thus:

> Augustes descendants d'un peuple sans pareil,
> Très illustres enfants des enfants du Soleil.

The best dramatist produced by Louisiana was Placide Canonge, who wrote between 1839 and 1860. He was educated in New Orleans, and was a frequent visitor in Paris. He was a director of opera and a journalist of some note; he edited *La Lorgnette, L'Entr'acte, Courrier, L'Impartial, Le Courrier Français, Le Sud, La Renaissance, L'Epoque*, and *L'Abeille*, the last-named, founded in 1827, being the first French daily news-

paper published in the United States. His plays followed the French romantic tradition, and were extremely popular because of their gaiety and enthusiasm. The best known are *Qui perd gagne* (1849), *Le Comte de Carmagnola* (1856), *Grand d'Espagne, Gaston de Saint-Elme* (1840), *Le Maudit Passeport* (1839), *Don Juan ou une histoire sous Charles-Quint* (1849), *Le Comte de Monte Christo* (1848), and *L'Ambassadeur d'Autriche.*

Canonge shares with Lussan, Dugué, Testut, and others the honour of creating an indigenous drama based on local history and manners. Both he and Lussan treated a famous crisis in colonial history, the Revolution of 1768, in which leading French colonists unsuccessfully opposed the accession of the new Spanish governor and were led to execution. Plays on this and kindred subjects found eager audiences from about 1840 on to the Civil War. In 1836 Charles Gayarré had published his *Essai Historique*, which was widely read and which led the imaginations of many back to the past. A. Lussan based his play, *Les Martyrs de la Louisiane* (1839), directly upon the account of the Revolution which Gayarré had so dramatically rendered. The play is conceived somewhat in the spirit of Victor Hugo; it is in verse, in five acts, and is dedicated to the martyrs of 1769. Very little is known of Lussan's life. Canonge's play on the Revolution of 1768, *France et Espagne* (1850), follows history less closely, new romantic characters being introduced to heighten and complicate the effect. It is based not on Gayarré's book but on a novel, *Louisiana*, written by Garreau and published in *La Revue Louisianaise* in 1845. The play is in prose, in four acts.

Oscar Dugué wrote in 1852 a tragedy called *Mila ou la Mort de La Salle.* The action takes place in Texas, and the chief characters are La Salle, his Indian bride Mila, and their murderous adversary, Liotot. It is not known whether the piece was ever staged. It is a tragedy in the manner of Voltaire, written in regular verse, and furnished with a chorus. The author was born in New Orleans in 1821. He studied in Paris, returning to Louisiana in 1846. He edited *L'Orléanais* for a while, and for a period was president of Jefferson College, in Saint-Jacques parish. He wrote one other historical drama, *Cygne ou Mingo*, highly praised in its day. P. Pérennes, whose tragedy in verse, *Guatimozin ou le Dernier Jour de l'Empire*

Mexicain (1859), dealt with the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, claimed to have been inspired to write his play during a sojourn among certain venerable ruins in Mexico; in reality he was only making over the *Guatimozin* of M. Madrid, which had appeared on the French stage as early as 1828. *L'Hermite du Niagara* (1842), a *mystère* by the novelist Alfred Mercier, should be mentioned here. Victor Sejour, the dramatist, though born in Louisiana, does not call for treatment, since he left the United States at an early age.

The novel owed its prosperity between 1845 and the Civil War chiefly to popular magazines like *La Revue Louisianaise*, *Les Veillées Louisianaises*, *La Violette*, and *L'Echo National*, whose feuilletons are now an interesting mine. In this period there was a demand for historical tales and stories of Louisiana life; as witness the following titles, announced by *La Revue Louisianaise: Histoire de toutes des rues de la Nouvelle-Orléans, par un Vieux Magistrat; Une Famille Créole; Or et Fange, mystères* of New Orleans. Garreau's *Louisiana*, the source of Canonge's *France et Espagne*, appeared in *Les Veillées Louisianaises* in 1845. It is long and formless, though the style is clear and the history fairly faithful. Garreau was virtually the first novelist to attempt a re-creation of colonial Louisiana.

Charles Testut, one of the most prolific of writers, author of *Portraits Littéraires de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, and of several volumes of poems, and editor-in-chief of *Les Veillées Louisianaises*, wrote three historical novels, *Saint-Denis*, *Calisto*, and *Le Vieux Salomon*. They were produced to fill space in his magazines; they are long, loosely composed, and often forced in language and sentiment. Yet they are eloquent, and rich in Louisiana lore. Whole pages are borrowed from Gayarré; in *Calisto* a long digression begins with the words "Comme le disait Charles Gayarré." *Saint-Denis* (1845) recounts the adventures of the Chevalier Juchereau de Saint-Denis in New Mexico, whither he has been sent by Governor Cadillac of Louisiana to open up new channels of trade, and where he falls in love with Angela, the governor's daughter, and fights a duel for her. *Calisto* (1849) is an extraordinary tale. The scene is laid at Carrolton, now a part of New Orleans. Sophie de Wolfenbuttel, a German princess, is brutally treated by her husband Alexis, a Russian prince. He struck her one day, and

believes he has killed her. She smuggles herself out of the palace and comes to Louisiana under the name of Calisto. She hears of the death of Alexis, and marries a young Frenchman, the Chevalier D'Olban. Returning to Paris with D'Olban and a daughter Caroline, she is recognized and forced to retire to the country, where her husband and daughter die, and where she ends her days in a convent. The novel contains, in addition to this train of events, notable descriptions of the huge Louisiana forests, and of a violent hurricane on the Mississippi. Testut's third novel, *Le Vieux Salomon* (written 1858, not published until 1877), deals at great length with slavery in Louisiana, and is virtually a second *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with a second Simon Legree for its principal character. The other side of the picture was given in 1881, in Dr. Alfred Mercier's *Habitation St. Ybars*, where the relation between master and slave is a happy one and the old Louisiana life is almost idyllic.

Alexandre Barde wrote *Michel Peyroux ou l'Histoire des Pirates en Amérique* in 1848. The story began serially in *La Revue Louisianaise*, but was never completed because the manuscript was lost by the printers. It is an account, as far as it goes, of the band of pirates who were led by the famous Lafitte. The novel begins well, and the loss of the manuscript must be considered a real misfortune; the French is excellent.

Le Soulier Rouge (1849), by D'Artlys, is an Indian story with a considerable historical basis. Governor Vaudreuil sends Aubry to negotiate with Soulier Rouge, who is chief of the Choctaws. Aubry's guide through the Louisiana forests has a niece, whom Aubry marries. The negotiations are not successful, and Aubry kills Soulier Rouge, who had killed his father. Aubry appears in Gayarré's history, from which D'Artlys borrowed. The story is only moderately long and is excellently written. The numerous descriptions of savage ceremonies make it an interesting document. D'Artlys had a nimble pen. He contributed regularly to *La Violette*, in the department called *Revue de la Semaine*. He retailed there the news from Europe, discussing the latest nothings with finesse and spirit. He was editor for a short time of *La Presse des Deux-Mondes*.

Between 1860 and 1870 no novels were published in Louisiana, because with the coming of the Civil War the popular magazines went out of existence. Thereafter novels in French

were not numerous. *Les Amours d'Hélène*, by Jacques de Roquigny, and *Rodolphe de Brancheliève* by Charles Lemaître, should at least be mentioned. The works of Dr. Alfred Mercier and Adrien Rouquette were more important. In addition to his *Habitation de St. Ybars*, Dr. Mercier, who spent a large portion of his life in Paris as lawyer, physician, and man of letters, wrote *Hénoch Jédésias; Lidia*, a charming Italian idyl; *Le fou de Palerme* (1873), a touching Italian love story; *La Fille du Prêtre* (1877), an attack against the celibacy of priests; and *Johnelle* (1892). Dr. Mercier handled the Creole patois skilfully, and was altogether highly successful in his fiction. Adrien Rouquette's *La Nouvelle Atala* (1879), it is hardly necessary to say, is an echo of Chateaubriand. The author was a priest who lived among the Indians of Saint-Tammany parish, reading Ossian, Young's *Night Thoughts*, various French books, and the Bible. Atala is a young girl who loves solitude and retires to the forests, where she has subtle spiritual adventures, and dies swooning. There are numerous mystical digressions in *La Nouvelle Atala;* Nature, as the guardian of Atala, is handled with all the superstitious reverence of Chateaubriand himself, and often with genuine eloquence.

Louisiana, with its luxurious vegetation, its bayous bordered with ancient oaks, its picturesque gulf coast, and its proud race of people, has made many poets, the most fecund of whom, and the most popular, if not the greatest, is Dominique Rouquette, brother of Adrien Rouquette. Dominique went to be educated in Paris; upon his return he took up the life of a hermit, writing sentimental verses, dreaming, and bothering very little about his daily bread. He was a picturesque figure on the streets of New Orleans as he strolled along with a great cudgel in one hand and a bouquet of flowers in the other, singing his verses at the top of his voice. His poetry was well received in France, notably by Hugo; it was said that Béranger and Deschamps learned some of his lines by heart. He published two volumes, *Les Meschacébéennes* and *Fleurs d'Amérique*. The following is from the *Fleurs:*

LE SOIR

Déjà dans les buissons dort la grive bâtarde:
La voix du bûcheron, qui dans les bois s'attarde,

A travers les grands pins se fait entendre au loin;
Aux bœufs libres du joug ayant donné le foin,
Sifflant une chanson, le charretier regagne
Sa cabane où l'attend une noire compagne,
Et fume taciturne, accroupi sur un banc,
Sa pipe, au longs reflets du mélèze flambant.

Adrien Rouquette wrote in a similar strain. His *Antoniade ou la Solitude avec Dieu* (1860) is a long eremitic poem on what had been one of the most popular subjects in Europe or America, solitude. *Les Savanes* (1841) is a collection of his shorter pieces. Tullius Saint-Céran wrote *Rien ou Moi* in 1837, and *Mil huit cent quatorze et Mil huit cent quinze* in 1838. The latter celebrates the battle of New Orleans, as does an epic in ten cantos by Urbain David, of Cette, entitled *Les Anglais à la Louisiane en 1814 et 1815* (1845). Lussan, the author of *Les Martyrs de la Louisiane*, produced in 1841 *Les Impériales*, a volume of homage to Napoleon in the style of Hugo. Felix de Courmont began in 1866 a poetical daily, in which he printed his own mediocre verse, chiefly satirical. Constant Lepouzé, the best Latin scholar of Louisiana, gracefully translated the odes of Horace in *Poésies Diverses* (1838). In 1845 Armand Lanusse published *Les Cenelles*, a very interesting volume of poems by Boise, Dalcour, Liotau, Valcour, Thierry, and others, inspired evidently by Hugo and Béranger, but striking at times a note of independence and jocularity. The following, from Thierry, was first printed in Paris:

Parle toujours, j'aime à t'entendre,
Ta douce voix me fait comprendre
Que je dois encore au bonheur
    Prétendre
Car j'ai pour chasser le malheur
    Ton cœur.

Oscar Dugué, the dramatist, published *Essais Poétiques* in 1847. The poems are formal and without variety, and cultivate melancholy. His *Homo*, a didactic poem, is not very interesting.

Alexandre Latil, in his *Éphémères* (1841), a protest against the modern school, produced verses of delicacy and felicity which make him seem, on the whole, one of the most memorable

as well as the most pathetic of the Louisiana poets. A lifelong invalid, he addressed to his father and mother a tender lament from which a few lines should be quoted as an illustration of the elegiac verse in which his state has done perhaps its finest work:

Encore un dernier cnant, et ma lyre éphémère
S'échappe de mes mains, et s'éteint en ce jour,
Mais que ces sons mourants, ô mon père, ma mère,
Soient exhalés pour vous, objets de mon amour.
De cet hymne d'adieu si la note plaintive
S'envole tristement pour ne plus revenir,
Vous ne l'oublîrez pas: votre oreille attentive
L'empreindra pour jamais dans votre souvenir.

Dr. Mercier and Charles Testut, the novelists, both turned their hands to poetry. Mercier's *Rose de Smyrne* and *Erato* were printed in Paris in 1842: the first is an Oriental tale; the second a collection of pleasant pieces in praise of love and Louisiana. The merest mention can be made here of Barde, Guirot, Calogne, and of Madame Emilie Evershed, the only poetess produced by French Louisiana.

The English-speaking United States knows Louisiana largely through the graceful and charming, though not all equally accurate, stories and essays of G. W. Cable,[1] Kate Chopin,[2] and Grace Elizabeth King. Louisianians themselves, and indeed these writers, are under a particular and special indebtedness to a man whose name has often been mentioned in this chapter —Charles Étienne Arthur Gayarré (1805–95). That Louisiana, says Miss King,

lives at all in that best of living worlds, the world of history, romance, and poetry, she owes to him. . . . As a youth, he consecrated his first ambitions to her; through manhood, he devoted his pen to her; old, suffering, bereft by misfortune of his ancestral heritage, and the fruit of his prime's vigour and industry, he yet stood ever her courageous knight. . . . He held her archives not only in his memory but in his heart, and while he lived, none dared make public aught about her history except with his vigilant form in the line of vision.

Too great a stress, however, need not be laid upon Gayarré's passionate provincialism. It is enough to say that in his

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI. [2] *Ibid.*

many historical writings, both French and English, he displayed to a friendly public not only the ascertained facts of those portions of Louisiana history which he investigated but the many charming traditions and romantic legends upon which he came, and which he embedded in his narrative somewhat after the manner of Barante's *Ducs de Bourgogne*. Of American authors he most nearly suggests Prescott, whose own cycle of studies indeed he touched upon in his life of Philip II of Spain (1866). Besides histories, addresses, and articles he produced comedies—*The School of Politics* (1854) and *Dr. Bluff, or the American Doctor in Russia* (1869)—and novels—*Fernando de Lemos, Truth and Fiction* (1872) and its sequel *Aubert Dubayet*. The novels contain some excellent descriptions of New Orleans.

For a generation nearly all that has been written in French in Louisiana may be found within the volumes of *Comptes Rendus* of L'Athénée Louisianais, a society for the encouragement of the French language and literature. Much of it is amateur and dilettante; much of it also is carefully considered and well written. Poems, essays, antiquarian researches, stories, discussions of many sorts—these indicate the taste of the contributors and readers. Dr. Mercier, founder of the society in 1876, was one of the most voluminous of these pleasant writers; another was Professor Alcée Fortier (1856–1914) of Tulane University, active and learned, the author of numerous studies of the language and folk-lore of his state, and of the elaborate *History of Louisiana* in four volumes which crowned his labours in 1904. His *Louisiana Studies* (1894) forms the basis of all our knowledge of the French literature of Louisiana.

III. Yiddish

It is very difficult to set geographical limits to Yiddish literature. American Yiddish authors were all born in Europe, and it is quite natural for them to revert to themes of the old home. The constant intercourse among Jewish authors in both hemispheres and the mutual influence exerted render geographical divisions still more artificial. Yet it's necessary, in the interests of orientation, to omit authors only indirectly related to American Yiddish literature and to

dwell only on those who have settled permanently in the United States and whose works reflect the life of the Jewish immigrants.

Judæo-German, now known as Yiddish, branched out from the German during the latter half of the sixteenth century when German Jews settled in compact masses in the Slavic countries. The vernacular developed by the Jews there gradually departed from the original dialect and became distinct from it, and today idiomatic Yiddish bears only a remote resemblance to the German. Many Hebrew words ingrained in the body of Yiddish, together with numerous words and expressions borrowed from contiguous Slavic vernaculars and thoroughly assimilated, make Yiddish a distinct linguistic unit. The Yiddish vernacular in America, retaining to a degree the characteristics of its several European sub-dialects, has also absorbed a great number of English words and turns of speech, which either have no Yiddish equivalents common to all dialects or represent conceptions that are new to the immigrant. Literary Yiddish in America is, however, relatively free from these Anglicisms.

Yiddish literature in the United States is less than half a century old. The first Yiddish periodical in America, the *Yiddische Neues*, was founded in New York in 1871. But it was a decade or so later before Yiddish received a real impetus in this country from the arrival of large numbers of Russian Jews fleeing the wave of persecutions and massacres at home. The intellectual immigrants who came with the masses brought with them the radical doctrines and ideals of socialism, anarchism, and other political and social tendencies current among the enlightened Russian and Jewish classes of the time. The vernacular of the immigrants was the only medium of appeal which would reach them, and although many of the educated American Jewish pioneers were averse to the use of Yiddish as a literary instrument they resorted to it as a matter of expediency. The growth of Yiddish literature in this country has been commensurable and co-extensive with the growth of Jewish immigration to the New World. The widening out of the spiritual interests of the older immigrants as well as the ever-increasing number of the new immigrants naturally created a larger and more diversified demand for printed Yiddish. The undifferen-

tiated weeklies and miscellanies of the early eighties developed into a literature with all modern ramifications.

Periodicals for a long time remained the only carriers of printed Yiddish. The intellectuals were quick to seize the opportunities of free speech and to make liberal use of them for the spread of radical doctrines. The *Yiddische Gazetten*, started as early as 1874, was typical of the inferior kind of Yiddish periodicals. A semi-rabbinical, vulgar makeshift, printed in a jargon abounding in Talmudical Hebrew and spurious German, it had no programme, no spiritual physiognomy, and ministered to the coarser tastes of the masses. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* was representative of the better class. It was a strictly socialist organ and stood unflinchingly by its ideals. Launched as a weekly in 1890 by a number of Jewish workmen-socialists under the editorship of J. Rombro (Philip Krantz) and a year later taken under the direction of the gifted and versatile Abraham Cahan, it at once became the rallying point for the best intellectual forces the Jewish immigrants had in America. Names now illustrious in Yiddish literature—Abraham Cahan, Philip Krantz, David Pinski, Z. Libin, L. Kobrin, B. Gorin, Morris Rosenfeld, and others—are intimately connected with the history of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and later with the daily *Abend Blatt* and the monthly *Zukunft*.

Financially these periodicals, and their editors, led a hand-to-mouth existence, but they carried their banner high.[1] Although the avowed purpose of such periodicals was to carry socialism to the masses, the necessity of a wider scope was soon recognized, and men like Abraham Cahan and Philip Krantz forced a widening of the field of interest and discussion. In the first issue of the *Zukunft* (January, 1892), the leading article avowed that "we can really express our programme in three words: we are Social Democrats." But . . . "we shall also give stories, poems, and art criticism; for we hold that art educates and refines the man, and we shall combine, so to speak, the pleasant with the useful." The issue contained *A Biography of Karl Marx* by Morris Hillquit; *God, Religion, and Morality* by Philip Krantz; *The Growth of the Proletariat in America* by Prof. Daniel De Leon; *Elections in Germany* by Herman Schlüter; the first of a series of articles on *Darwinism* by Abra-

[1] Krantz as editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* had a salary of six dollars a week.

ham Cahan; *Malthusianism and Capitalism* by Philip Krantz. Of belles-lettres we find only *The Swimming Coffin*, a fantasy by Jacob Gordin. The evolution of this magazine, still the only serious American Yiddish monthly, may be judged from the table of contents of any issue of recent date. We now find fiction and poetry predominating, and topics of the times treated without academic pretension. This evolution is characteristic of all Yiddish-American journalism. There has been a levelling up and a levelling down in Yiddish periodicals which have put them on a sound financial basis and have removed both hyper-intellectual and vulgar elements. The editors and contributors of Jewish newspapers now realize that their readers are live men and women. Having adopted the features of American journalism "which make a paper go," they have also retained the traditional elements of definite social and political policies in both general and specifically Jewish matters.

The Jewish Daily Forward (founded in 1897), which harbors practically the entire *Arbeiter Zeitung* group, with Abraham Cahan as editor-in-chief, B. Feigenbaum, Philip Krantz, Z. Libin, and others as contributors, has become a potent force with the Jews of America. It is committed to socialism, but its socialism no longer hangs out of joint with its actual environment, and it undoubtedly makes for better citizenship among the immigrants. It is the largest Yiddish newspaper in America, and, indeed, in the world. Several other Yiddish dailies have attained the proportions of metropolitan newspapers. Of these *The Day* is the more influential and widely read. *The Jewish Morning Journal*, *The Warheit* (now merged with *The Day*), *The Jewish Daily News*, all published in New York, have each their following, and have to a large extent freed themselves from objectionable features. Though the Yiddish book market is becoming stabilized and several publishing houses operate on a business basis, the daily newspaper is still the vehicle of the best fiction produced.

The Jew is known for his love of the song, and the sadder the song the more intense the response. The *badchen*, the wedding bard, with his mournful singsong and his opening formula "Weep, bride, oh weep!" is a traditional figure of the Ghetto. The modern composer of literary verse is known among the

masses, if at all, by poems that have been set to music, and every Jewish poet of repute has many such to his credit. Frug, the celebrated Jewish-Russian poet, is sung perhaps more than read. Reisin's *Mai Kamashmalon*, that groan of the Ghetto, and the same author's portentous *Huliet, Huliet, Boese Winten* have become national lyrics.

The Jewish immigrant in America found his sorrows and sufferings voiced in the songs[1] of one of the foremost Yiddish poets, Morris Rosenfeld, who in echoing the agonies of his brethren in the foreign land also echoed his own, for he was as much as they a victim of the infamous industrial plague known as the sweat shop. He was born in Russian Poland in 1862. His early education was religious and Talmudical with a smattering of the Polish and the German languages. In 1882 he left his native village of Boksha, in the province of Suvalki, for Amsterdam. He came to New York in 1883, left again for Russia, and in 1886 settled permanently in New York. His début in America was with a poem called *The Year 1886* printed in the *New Yorker Yiddische Folkszeitung*. His talent was quickly recognized and his verse soon appeared in practically every Yiddish periodical. But for twelve years he was forced to support himself in the sweat shop. Only when Professor Leo Wiener brought him to the attention of the American public through a volume of his poems, transliterated and translated, was Rosenfeld able to take eager leave of the cheerless toil that had so long been his nightmare.

Rosenfeld wrote in many genres. His satires were as deadly as his lyrics were moving. Resourceful in his vocabulary, happy in his sense of rhythm, rich in his colouring, sincere in his wrath, he brought in his Ghetto poems burning accusations against the order of things that made this hell on earth possible. He immortalized the sweat shop in many songs and poems. His *Die Sweat Shop*, *Mein Yüngele*, *Verzweiflung*, *Der Bleicher Apreitor*, and *A Trer auf'n Eisen* are some of the most dreadful testimonies of a soul's agony and the most damaging arraignment of social injustice. Future generations reading Rosenfeld will see in him a poet of high merit; but in his time he was more than a poet—he was the great accuser, the great champion of his fellow-slaves, the great mourner of his

[1] Yiddish poets generally call their productions "lieder" and not "gedichte."

fellow-Jews. In his nationalistic poems he sings the sorrows of the Jew as Jew, and in these, too, one can feel the throbbing of the aching heart of the eternally persecuted people. Rosenfeld knew how to reconcile his socialist views with his nationalist tendencies. He knew how to sing for the world of the oppressed, and he found in his heart special melodies for his suffering race.

Morris Winchevsky (born in Russia in 1856) is of a kind with Rosenfeld in his themes but quite inferior as a poet. His songs are all coloured with propaganda, though some of them, by virtue of correct versification and essential sincerity, are of decided poetic merit. An old man, he is now more or less reposing on his laurels, and these are not few. Successful translator of Hugo's *Les Miserables*, Ibsen's *Doll's House*, and Hood's *The Song of the Shirt*, he was also tireless as a disseminator of radical doctrines. He is still revered by the radical masses, who fondly know him as the "grandfather of Yiddish socialism."

Rosenfeld and Winchevsky are the two Ghetto poets of magnitude. David Edelstadt (1866–1892), the official poet of the anarchist group, was popular in his days, when radicalism as such was at a premium. His poetry, however, hardly deserves the name. Of the lesser Ghetto poets, Michael Kaplan is worth noting. His *Ghetto Klangen* are rich in original, homely plaint. His poetic adaptation of the American-Yiddish vernacular abounding in Anglicisms is decidedly novel. Kaplan in his poetry is the immigrant who is destined to live on a foreign soil without striking root, and his songs fall on sympathetic ears.

S. Blumgarten (born in Russia in 1870), known by his pen name of Yehoush, is a poet of high rank, who would be a credit to a literature less obscure and local than Yiddish, perhaps even to a world literature. In this he marks a departure from the older Yiddish tradition. Finding Yiddish inadequate for his new concepts, he introduced a number of foreign words, happy in most cases, but not always adapted to the idiom. He began his literary effort in Russia, but it was in America, after ten years of business pursuits, that his talent found expression. He wrote in many styles and in all of them emphasized ideas rather than poetic modes; with the exception, per-

haps, of his nature poems, where he stands supreme among Yiddish poets in his fine sense of landscape. His translation of *Hiawatha* would be excellent were it not for the occasional dissonance of foreign words. His Jewish themes are permeated with a romantic charm. Yehoush also made valuable contributions to the study of Yiddish. His Yiddish dictionary is a helpful volume to all who write the dialect.

That Yiddish poetry has a future is strongly contended by the "young," as the rebels of Yiddish rhyme like to style themselves. The conservative Yiddish reader frowns at them; to the Ghetto writer they are anathema; but they are fascinating, like all rebels. The time is not yet ripe to give a just estimate of the individual representatives of this promising school: Mani Leib, M. L. Halpern, Joseph Rolnik, for example. Speaking of Mani Leib the "young" critic Noah Steinberg says that he shook off all proletarian and nationalistic traditions. This they all did. Whether they are proselytes or mere renegades remains to be seen. They are still in the ferment.[1]

The short story or "Skitze" is the prevalent form of Yiddish fiction. It owes its continued existence not so much to choice as to the exigencies of Yiddish literature in America. In the absence of a book market to speak of—until very recently at any rate—practically all Yiddish literature produced in the United States was first printed in the dailies and weeklies. This circumstance, together with the fact that most of the Yiddish writers until lately have had to lead a precarious existence without leisure for longer works, has fostered the short story form, ill-suited as it is to the talents of some of its users.

Z. Libin (Israel Hurowits, born in Russia in 1872) occupies in American Yiddish fiction the place that Rosenfeld occupies in poetry, though much less talented and relatively free from nationalistic themes. His realism was inspired by the Russian masters at whose altar most of the Yiddish-American writers still worship, but his themes are predominantly local. He writes of the Jewish workman in the sweat shop, in the pestiferous tenement house, in the slums of the summer resorts. He treats of poverty, unemployment, misery, disease, the "white plague," and all the agonies of soul that these

[1] As this chapter was written in 1918 it does not chronicle the interesting development of these "young" writers during the past two years.

generate. He does not protest, accuse, or denounce, as does his brother poet; he is simply a recorder of the multiform hell of the Ghetto. His genuine pathos lies in the simplicity and accuracy of his tales. "The life of the Jewish workmen in New York is the life I know best," he writes in his autobiography. "My Muse was born in the dark sweat shop, her first painful cry resounded near the Singer machine, she was brought up in the tenement tombs." In his later years, when the more objectionable aspects of the sweat shop were gradually becoming extinct, Libin relaxed somewhat, and admitted a little humour to his stories. But essentially he remained the Ghetto writer, with a talent for the cheerless, the desolate. Z. Levin is another of the realistic "skitze" writers. Many of his stories are meritorious, but with all the correctness of his realism, with all his insight into human motives, he leaves the reader cold. Only the worshippers of realism as a cult enjoy him.

Of much bigger calibre is Leon Kobrin (born in Russia in 1872). His literary début was in Russian, and when he came to New York in 1892 he was surprised to hear that there was such a thing as literature in Yiddish or "jargon," as the vernacular was contemptuously called in Russia. Nevertheless he joined hands with the inspired band of intellectuals and propagandists led by Abraham Cahan, Philip Krantz, and Benjamin Feigenbaum, and began contributing to the socialist publications in the vernacular, shelving his squeamishness and wielding his pen from right to left as best he could. In 1894 he published his first story, *A Moerder aus Liebe*. It attracted universal attention, and Kobrin became a Yiddish writer.

Kobrin is a realist but he is more than that. He knows the value of artistic selection and arrangement, and is something of a virtuoso of the short story. His subjects are not all of American life. He still dwells caressingly on places and characters of the old home. In his *Litwisch Staedtel*, written in 1914 and "dedicated to my old father and mother," the obscure town in the Lithuanian Ghetto is treated with a love and a reminiscential tenderness worthy of a better place. In his stories of Jewish life in America he gives us vivid pictures of the life of the poor, though he does not emphasize the sombre colours. The dramatic quality of his talent is manifest in many of his tales, of which some were adapted by the author for the

stage. The conflict between the older generation of immigrants and their offspring, who are as a rule out of sympathy with the uncouth "old folks," is a favourite theme with Kobrin, and he portrays masterfully the mute tragedies of the uprooted refugees who find in America a measure of material comfort but who are agonized by new customs deeply offensive to their traditions. Of these stories the *Versterter Sabath* and *Thier Numer 1* of the series *A Tenement House* are among the best.

During the fifteen years of his literary career Kobrin wrote a great deal of fiction, and with the death of Jacob Gordin became one of the principal American-Yiddish playwrights. He also enriched Yiddish fiction by creditable translations from Maupassant, Zola, Gorki, Tolstoy, Dostoevski, Chekhov, and others.

Within the last decade numerous lesser short story writers have arisen. Some of them display qualities that justify hopeful expectations. Proletarian tendencies do not appear in their work. B. Botwinik, though crude in style at times, is arresting and thoughtful. Yenta Serdatsky has written a number of stories concerning the deracination of the later Jewish-Russian intellectuals who have become a cross between complacent bourgeois and spiritual malcontent. M. Osherowitz is another of the "skitze" writers whose heroes are exclusively of this new type, perhaps the most piteous among all the immigrants.

The school of the "young" is also strongly represented in fiction. Its followers have ushered in the longer story and the novel. I. Opatoshu is not a traditional Ghetto writer, for erotic passion is his main subject. His *Polische Welder*, however, is less open to objections on the part of the conservative critic. He has been called the originator of the Yiddish historical novel. David Ignatov is a "young" novelist who likes to write of men of indomitable will moving in an atmosphere of the elemental and the infinite, quite out of the Yiddish realistic tradition.

At the risk of being facetious it may be said here that the best Yiddish novel is one written in English. Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* is a better reflection of Jewish life in American surroundings than all American-Yiddish fiction put together. The book is especially interesting to Americans, since

the author sets out with the manifest purpose of taking the American reader by the hand and showing him through all the nooks of the Ghetto. This motive, with the author's genuine literary talent, a most felicitous style, a realistic treatment that is both engaging and convincing, makes *The Rise of David Levinsky* a monumental work, and surely the most remarkable contribution by an immigrant to the American novel. Cahan's work as editor of *The Jewish Daily Forward* and as literary critic, his novel, and his subsequent attack upon American fiction constitute a bold challenge to American novelists.

The Yiddish drama in America has always been trammelled by the immediate requirements of the playhouses, has been dictated mainly by box-office considerations, and, as a result of this, is of a decidedly inferior nature.[1]

At first the American Jewish theatre ministered to the crude wants of the coarser elements among the immigrants, who sought diversion rather than art. The actor as a professional was hardly yet differentiated, and the performers on the stage were of a kind with the hearers. The public did not value the labours of the dramatist, taking the actors to be the improvisors of the songs and the "prose."[2] But the actors regarded the playwright as the chieftain of their tribe. The institution of the "retained" author at the theatre became firmly established, and outsiders could not get a hearing with the theatrical managers. The names of A. Goldfaden, I. Shaikewitz, J. Lateiner, and M. Hurwitch are worth mentioning in connection with the beginnings of the Yiddish drama in America. Goldfaden is considered the founder of the Yiddish theatre. All of them had been practised in their craft before they came here. They knew their audience from the old Ghetto and understood perfectly well how to suit its tastes. Their plays were mostly adaptations from the inferior European stage. The most preposterous plots, a few songs of the salacious and sentimental pseudo-nationalistic kind, a comedian for the display of whose "stunts" the action was frequently and arbitrarily suspended

[1] The Jewish Art Theatre, established in 1919, bids fair to make an important contribution of a higher sort.

[2] Z. Libin is authority for the story that only some ten years ago he had great difficulty in explaining to a Jewish audience in a country town that he was a playwright. "Why should you write the words after the actors have said them?" he was asked.

—these were the elements of which a Yiddish "show" was concocted. Pseudo-biblical plots were greatly in vogue, the material of these also being handled quite unceremoniously. It must be said, however, in justice to Goldfaden, that his "historical operettes" *Bar Kochba*, *Doctor Almosado*, and particularly *Sulamith* are imbued with a genuine folk-spirit, and the songs in these plays are of a tender plaintiveness that is characteristic of the best Jewish folk-songs. Goldfaden composed both music and text.

Yiddish drama took a decided turn for the better with the appearance of the first play (*Siberia*) by Jacob Gordin (1853–1909), the acknowledged reformer of the Yiddish stage. Born in Russia, he received a liberal though irregular education. When he came to New York in 1892 he was already a reformer and a fairly well recognized Russian writer. His acquaintanceship with the noted Jewish actors Adler and Mogulesko prompted him to try his hand at play-writing. His first play met with success and it laid the foundation of his career as Yiddish playwright. Gordin took the Yiddish drama in America from the realm of the preposterous and put a living soul into it. The methods of Goldfaden, Hurwitch, and Lateiner were not entirely abandoned; dancing and songs unrelated to the plot still occupied a prominent part in the play. But the plots were no longer of the blood-curdling, impossible kind, and the characters were living persons. Under the influence of his plays, Jewish actors began to regard their profession as one which calls for study and an earnest attitude. But while his achievements are invaluable as those of a reformer, his work is not intrinsically great. With all the realism of his situations, with all the genuineness of his characters, he was rather a producer of plays for a particular theatrical troupe than a writer of drama. That his comic characters generally stand in organic relation to the play is one of his chief merits. Of his many pieces (about 70 or 80) only a score or so have been published, and some of these are worthless as literature. *Mirele Efros*, *Gott Mensch un Teufel*, and *Der Unbekanter* are among the best of them.

Gordin's successors and disciples have not advanced the Yiddish stage beyond realistic melodrama. The two better playwrights supplying it, Leon Kobrin and Z. Libin, both display a

knowledge of theatrical and histrionic requirements, but as literature their dramatic productions are inferior or at best mediocre. In the case of Kobrin one may observe a struggle between the writer of temperament and the producer of melodramas "made to order." Even in his "problem plays" the melodramatic elements prevail.

The standards of the Yiddish stage in America have not permitted David Pinski (born in Russia in 1873) to attain the distinction that is due him as a playwright. He is known among the Gentile lovers of the drama better than among his own kin. His plays have none of the vices of the regulation Yiddish play, and this may explain the fact that many of them were produced for the first time only several years after their publication. Nevertheless, he is a dramatist of high order. There is intensity and vigour in his plots, which are raised above the accidental configuration of circumstances. His characters, too, are broad and significant. His dynamic quality reveals itself in the themes he essays as well as in his characters. Clash and struggle are Pinski's elements. The conflict of social forces is best brought out in his *Isaac Sheftel, an Arbeiter Drama;* and his *Familie Zwi, Tragedie vun dem einzigen Yidden* reveals the powerful cross-currents in Jewish life, the grapple of the old and the new. His plays should easily outlive their run on the stage, and remain permanently valuable as literature.

CHAPTER XXXII

Non-English Writings II

Aboriginal

PROBABLY never before has a people risen to need a history of its national literature with so little conscious relation to its own aboriginal literature. Yet if we extend the term America to include the geographical and racial continuity of the continent, unbroken at its discovery, we have here the richest field of unexploited aboriginal literature it is possible to discover anywhere in the world.

It begins in the archaic and nearly inarticulate cry of awakening consciousness, and carries us to about the point at which Greek literature began to exhibit continuity of thought and style. Only in America we have the advantage of having all these literary patterns developed on a consistent warp of language, and with the woof of an unmixed racial psychology. Varied as all its tribal manifestations were, from Aleut to Fuegian, the aboriginal American was of one uncontaminated strain.

Something more than a scholarly interest attaches to this unparalleled opportunity for the study of a single racial genius. To the American it is also a study of what the land he loves and lives in may do to the literature by which the American spirit is expressed. These early Amerinds had been subjected to the American environment for from five to ten thousand years. This had given them time to develop certain characteristic Americanisms. They had become intensely democratic, deeply religious, idealistic, communistic in their control of public utilities, and with a strong bias toward representative government. The problem of the political ring, and the excessive

accumulation of private property, had already made its appearance within the territory that is now the United States. And along with these things had developed all the varieties of literary expression natural to that temperament and that state of society—oratory, epigram, lyrics, ritual-drama, folk-tale, and epic.

In any competent account of this aboriginal literature of ours it will be necessary to refer to the points, in Mexico and Peru, where the racial genius that produced it reached its highest expression. But between the St. Lawrence and the Rio Grande the one item which primarily conditioned all literary form was complete democracy of thinking and speaking.

Such education as the aboriginal Americans had was "free" in the sense that there were no special advantages for particular classes. Their scholars were wise in life only; there were no "intellectuals." The language being native, there were no words in it derived from scholastic sources, no words that were not used all the time by all the people. It was not even possible for poet or orator to talk "over the heads" of his audiences. There was a kind of sacred patter used by the initiates of certain mysteries, but the language of literature was the common vehicle of daily life.

This made for a state of things for which we are now vaguely striving in America, in which all the literature will be the possession of all the people, and the distinction between "popular" and real literature will cease to exist. And in aboriginal literature we have interesting examples of how this democracy of content modifies the form of what is written.

The controlling factor in the form of aboriginal literature was its need of being rememberable. Transmitted as it was by word of mouth, every song and story had to shape itself, as naturally as a river to its bed, to the retentive faculty of the mind. Ceremonies occupying several days for their performance must be passed, letter-perfect, from generation to generation. It was etiquette in Indian assemblies for a speaker, on rising, to repeat all that had been said by previous speakers on that subject. Under these circumstances remembering became a profession. Individuals with exceptional endowment became the custodians of tribal history. "Keeper of the Wampum" grew to be a title of distinction, and it is related of one of these

keepers among the Five Nations that he was able to repeat all the details of public transaction connected with every one of the five hundred belts entrusted to his care.

Other aids to memory were occasionally employed, bundles of notched sticks, the painted skins of the Plainsman's Summer and Winter counts. These were in the nature of public documents. Chippewa (Ojibway) tribes had "board plates" on which between straight lines were painted or incised ideographic symbols indicating the song sequences of their rituals. But these could be read only by members of the societies to which they pertained. In the whole of what is now the United States there was but one native record that could be called, in our fashion, a book. It consisted of a number of birch-bark plates, incised and painted red, the *Walam Olum*, the Red Score of the Lenni Lenape. For the rest, the record of the Amerind soul was committed to the mind and the heart.

This is only another way of saying that all Amerind literature was rhythmic. It was true of all those forms we are accustomed to think of as prose, oratory, epigram, and tribal history, as well as of lyric and epic. But, though the Indian had no names for them, there was always a distinction in his choice of rhythms to be used. The difference was in their psychological relation to himself. The thing that came out of the Amerind heart was poetry, but if it came out of his head it was prose. This is a distinction to be borne in mind, for in the present state of our knowledge it is the only possible classification of aboriginal literary modes.

If utterance was out of the Indian heart, it could be sung or danced. But all Indian life was so intensely democratic that there was very little to be danced and sung which had not to be danced and sung in common, by the group or the tribe. When literature is danced or chanted in common there must be some common measure, some time-keeper. Among the Indians this was the drum, that "breathing mouth of wood," the hollow log or hoop with a stretched skin. All Amerind literature is of these two classes: it can be drummed to, or it cannot.

Of the literature which came out of the Indian's head, too little has been preserved to us, and that little by ethnologists rather than literary specialists. Translators have been chiefly interested in mythology, in language, in anything except literary form.

Sir William Johnson, the earliest observer of oratory among the Five Nations, that original American centre of political corruption and senatorial sabotage, was impressed by the "Attic elegance" of diction and the compelling rhythm of their orators. The necessity for a unanimous vote on all important measures in Indian councils made the man who could weld the assembly with his voice the great man among them. The exercise of a gift for speech-making was not confined to the formal assembly, however. If a man "felt in his heart" that he had anything to say, he went from village to village claiming an audience, preceded by an advance agent who made all the necessary arrangements. There were prophets in those days, religious enthusiasts and reformers as well as politicians, and successful "spellbinders" who did not decline to teach their art to neophytes. Effects were studied. Apt illustrations and figures of speech would be remembered and appropriated by other orators. The flowing and meaningless gestures, so dear to our own early republican orators, did not enter into Indian speech. Descriptive pantomime and mimicry were used with profound and dramatic effect, as when the Wichita chief, standing before a commission which would have made windy terms with him, stooped, gathered a handful of dust, and tossing it lightly in the air replied: "There are as many ways as that to cheat an Indian." So seriously was the business of speech-making undertaken, that Powhatan is reported to have instantly slain one of his young men who interrupted him. And, so the chronicler relates, the only interruption to the speech was the carrying out of the body.

Examples in translation from the speeches of Logan, Red Jacket, and the Seneca chief who was called Farmer's Brother show traces of that balanced and flowing sentence structure which we associate with the Old Testament prophets. Direct observation of Indian speech-making leads the writer to conclude that the aboriginal orator composed his speech in units, the order and arrangement of which were varied to meet the special audience. This, if true,—and the decline of tribal life has occasioned such a decline in the art of speech-making that this is only an inference,—would relate the art of oratory to drama and cover one of the two or three gaps in the development of stanza form. Oratory had, however, an important function in

relating literary composition to the audience, for it was the only art practised wholly for the purpose of affecting the decisions of the tribe.

There was something akin to oratory, and in the nature of sermonizing, which occurred in connection with the initiation of youth into tribal responsibility. Certain of the Elders, regarded as the repositories of tribal wisdom, were required to expound it from time to time, but always in connection with tribal mysteries, so that there is very little of it accessible in its original form. It probably tended to fall into aphoristic balance like the Wisdom of Solomon and the Almanac of Poor Richard.

> Would you choose a councillor,
> Watch him with his neighbour's children.
>
> *Sioux.*

> Do not stand wishing for the fish in the water,
> Go home and make a spear.
>
> *Puget Sound.*

Something of the high simplicity and clarity of aboriginal moralizing can be gathered in the writings of a man of such pure Indian stock as Charles Eastman. No one can associate intimately with Indians without continually surprising from them such apt and balanced utterances as this, from the last of the Catalinans:

> I always remember what the old men told me: that the world is God.

Literary allusion, drawn from their folk or hero-tales, is part of the Amerind daily speech. Of an affair which makes a great stir without getting forward the Micmac will say: "It goes like the canoe that the Partridge made." The point of the comparison is in the fable of the Partridge who, observing that a canoe goes faster when the ends are well rounded, conceived the brilliant idea of a canoe which should be rounded on the sides also. The result was a bowl-shaped structure which went round and round without progress.

There was an apt anecdote like that for every occasion, or if there was not, somebody made one on the spot. This quick facility for noting resemblances, and the play of humour, has

given us a body of folk-tale and fable not surpassed by any country in the world, folk-tale and fable which would illustrate our common American life with far more point than the things we derive from Europe.

Unfortunately, writers who have undertaken to utilize this material have missed its native quality, and attempted to crowd it into the mould of European fairy-tales, though in fact both the mood and the method of Amerind folk-tales are as distinctively American as the work of Mark Twain. In some respects Mark Twain in his shorter anecdotes, and Edgar Lee Masters in the *Spoon River Anthology*, have come nearer the mark of Amerind humour than any direct translation or interpretation. The one really notable success at transcription of the Amerind mode seems to have been accident, that sort of divine accident that one wishes might happen oftener. It appears that Joel Chandler Harris did not himself know, when he wrote them, that his Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox were original Cherokee inventions. In the reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, where you will find their Amerind forebears, the tales have a grim quality, a *Spoon River* quality, which to our understanding misses the humouresque which they had to the Indian. Coming to Harris as they did through the modified primitiveness of the negro, their essential frolicsomeness is transmitted with surprisingly few African interpolations. Undoubtedly there were exchanges between Indian and Negro slaves and assimilations took place at all their points of contact. But for the Americanness of the Uncle Remus stories, one has only to point to that other so popular folk hero, Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford, the Br'er Fox of the current hour.

One other supreme achievement in the adaptation of Amerind folk-tales is Frank Hamilton Cushing's *Zuñi Folk Tales*, almost the only convincing rendition of the non-sacred stories of the South-west. Particularly illuminating of the Amerind story method is the Zuñi version of the story of the Cock and the Mouse, and the adventure of the Twins of War and Chance among the Unborn Men of the Underworld, one of the few examples of pure Amerind prose.

All our conclusions about aboriginal prose style are more or less conjectural. Because of the necessity of carrying it wholly in mind, sacred matter was committed almost wholly to song

and symbolic ritual. Explanation and narration of the story, necessary for the carrying out of these rites, took place only before the novitiates. When the rites themselves were made public, the story on which they were strung was sketchily the common possession. In the kiva or earth-lodge, in whatever sacred privacy they were rehearsed, the story was a solemn narrative, developed by repetition to explicit form. Beginning as informal prose, such a narrative tended to become more and more rhythmic, until it made a matrix within which the lyric and symbolic elements were enclosed. Tribal ceremonies in all stages of this logical development can be found among the American tribes, well on their way to becoming epic and drama.

In the descriptive and explanatory matter of Frances Dinsmore's *Sun Dance*, and in the prose intervals of the Hako Ritual as recorded by Alice Fletcher, one sees this process going on; and, incidentally, for the student of drama there is much light thrown on the office and evolution of the Greek chorus. For not the least advantage of the study of our own aboriginal literature is the place it fills in the evolution of form.

Amerind prose, and prose becoming poetized by growing important, has the first consideration, because this is the nearest point of contact. The earliest forms as well as the preponderant forms are all well within our own definition of poetry. That is to say, they have definite, repetitive rhythm pattern. They have sonority, assonance, and in some instances even alliteration and rhyme.

Over and above the quality of rememberability which every aboriginal composition was obliged to have, the instinctive choice of poetry as a medium of intimate expression had to do with the Indian's religion. He began by being convinced of unity and continuity of life. Earth, ant-heap, beast, and stone were permeated with the same Essence which was in himself, for which we may adopt the ethnologist's term Wakonda. To put himself in touch with the Wakonda of whatever item of creation held his interest of the moment, was the serious business of the Indian's days. He thought of the animals as nearer to the Cause of Causes than men were, and of the forces of nature as still nearer, being so much more mysterious. At all times and continuously he thought of the necessity of keeping himself in harmony with these.

First of all he hit upon the idea of rhythm, vibration, as being the secret of such harmony, the ululating voice, the cry beaten into rhythm with the hand, then the hollow log, the pebbled gourd. Then words began to rise like bubbles through the cry, mere syllables, unrelated words, a shorthand note to the emotions involved, all arranged around the emotional impulse which set them in motion, annotating the experience, but not until a much later stage describing it.

The process of raising annals, incident, and law to the point at which they became precious enough to require remembering, in other words, to the point at which they could be called literature, was obvious and slow. But spiritual and emotional experiences were literary in their mode from their very inception. That is to say, they could be drummed, if no more than on the singer's breast. Single personal experiences gave rise to the love song, the death song, the cradle song. Where a succession of incidents was required to complete the experience, the song sequence arose. Out of such sequences developed, with the help of the sustaining narrative, all epic and drama.

In this stage the poetic art admitted no aristocracy of talent. Any Indian who had a poetic experience could make a song of it, and apparently every Indian did. It is no uncommon thing even today to find a singer with a repertory of two hundred or more songs. Some of these will be found to be fragments of ceremonial sequences, but most of them will be personal expressions.

I did not make my looks,
Why blame me if the women fall in love with me?[1]

sings the Omaha beau;

Setting out on the war trail, the Pawnee sings

Let us see is it real,
This life that I am living.[2]

Thus the north coast lover:

Even from a house of strong drink
Men get away,
But not from you,
Raven woman.[3]

[1] Alice Fletcher. [2] Frances Dinsmore. [3] Franz Boas.

Almost all personal songs are of this stenographic character so far as they are concerned with mere words. It is even possible to dispense with words altogether, but the translator will go astray who contents himself with the words and does not put into his work the rhythm pattern and the emotion of the melodic intervals. Music is to the highest degree literary with the aboriginal.

Even with these aids the meaning of Amerind verse is obscure unless one understands that the genius of the language is holophrastic. This is to say, there is an effort to express the relationship of several ideas by combining them into one word. In the Quicha tongue it is possible to say in a single word, "the-essence-of-being-as-existent-in-humanity." There is a Chippewa word, which means "I-laugh-in-my-thoughts," and an Algonkin word which an unliterary translator might render correctly as dawn, actually means "hither-whiteness-comes-walking."

Another difficulty encountered by the student of aboriginal American verse who is not also a student of aboriginals is the relationship of ideas. When the Paiute Ghost dancer sings

> The cottonwoods are growing tall,
> They are growing tall and green,

or the Ojibway,

> All night on the river I keep awake,

the first is not describing the spring landscape, but a vision of spiritual regeneration and resurrection from the dead. Nor has the latter lost his sweetheart: he speaks of the search of the soul for mystic completion.

As tribal culture advances, the stanza form makes its appearance, assonance, measure, and in descriptive passages an instinctive attempt to make the rhythms suggestive if not actually imitative.

Two or three distinct stanza forms with refrain can be found in the songs of the house-dwelling tribes of the South-west. Garcilasso de la Vega says that the Incas were proficient in the quatrain in which the first line rhymed with the last and the second with the third. Among our own tribes a very competent

blank verse had developed, capable of carrying long narrative and susceptible of variation to meet the demands of dialogue.

In one or another of these forms all that was really important to the aboriginal American was stated. Longfellow, had he been more of an American and less of an academician, could have easily found native measures for his Hiawatha cycle without borrowing from the Finnish, although he showed more discrimination than most writers who have attempted to render Indian epics, in choosing a form that was very closely akin to the Amerind.

It is possible that the literary mode of the Amerind epics has been influenced by the native choice of story interest. While all of the longer poems begin with the creation of the world and purport to record the early wanderings of the tribe and its subsequent history, there is a notable lack of the warrior themes that occupy the epics of the old world. The Amerind hero is a culture hero, introducer of agriculture, of irrigation, and of improved house-building. Hiawatha, not Longfellow's Ojibway composite, but the original Haion 'hwa'tha of the Mohawks, was a statesman, a reformer, and a prophet. His very name ("he makes rivers") refers to his establishment of canoe routes among the Five Nations and with the peoples along the headwaters of the Ohio River. In company with Dekanawida, an Onondaga coadjutor, he formed the original League of Nations with the object of "abolishing the wasting evils of inter-tribal blood feuds."

We may select for analysis two of the best and best known of these culture epics, the *Walam Olum* already mentioned as the earliest American book, and the Zuñi Creation Myth as it has been made known to us through the labours of Frank Cushing.

The record of the Red Score was obtained by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque while he was holding the chair of Historical and Natural Science in the Transylvania University of Kentucky, and a translation was printed by him in 1836. The original copy was a collection of the before-mentioned bark or "board plates," incised and painted with the picture writings of the Lenni Lenape. The words, found somewhat later by Professor Rafinesque, have been pronounced by Daniel Brinton to be a genuine oral tradition written down by one not very familiar with the language.

The text consisted of a series of ideographic writings, each one representing a verse, obviously metrical, with syllabic and accentual rhythm, and occasional alliteration. That the syllabic arrangement is not accidental, but studied, is shown by the frequent sacrifice of the correct form of the word to secure it. The tendency to rhyme, especially to what is known today as internal rhyme, is noticeable, but Brinton thinks it possible that this may have been owed to influences of Christian hymns, with which the Lenni Lenape had been familiar for two generations. This seems hardly likely. It is as unlikely as that the Psalms of David should be affected by modern revivalism.

Two examples of the ideograph and accompanying verse from the *Walam Olum* are here given, those two which are probably of most interest to Americans of today, the advent of the first Tammany chief (Tamenend) and the coming of the Discoverers.

PLATE I

Weninitis Tamenend sakimanep nekohatami
All being friendly, The Affable was chief, the first of that name.

Wonwihil wapekunchi wapsipsyat
At this time Whites came on the eastern sea.

The Red Score begins with creation, when "On the earth there was an extended fog . . . at first, for ever, lost in space, there the Great Manitou was. . . ." After the creation, began the rise of the Lenni Lenape in a land which has been identified as north of the St. Lawrence, toward the east.

> The Lenape of the Turtle were close together
> In hollow houses, living together there.
> It freezes where they abode:
> It snows where they abode:
> It storms where they abode:
> It is cold where they abode.
> At this northern place they speak favourably
> Of mild, cool lands,
> With many deer and buffaloes.

Accordingly they set out for that land, but found their way blocked by the Tallegewi, generally conceded to be the Mound

Builders, who in turn are supposed to be the forebears of the present Cherokees. At first the Lenape made a treaty by which they were to be permitted to cross toward the south and east, but treachery arose. The Lenape retreated across Fish River, which was probably the Detroit crossing of the St. Lawrence, and, making an alliance with the Mingwe, the originals of the Five Nations, they descended on the Mound Builders and, after a hundred years' war, drove them south of the Ohio.

The Red Score relates further how the descending northern peoples distributed themselves in the region south of the Great Lakes, and the Lenni Lenape finally separated themselves from their allies, going toward the East River, the Delaware, where the English found them. The record ends practically with the beginning of white settlements, and there is no reason to believe that the epic as a whole is anything other than a fairly accurate traditional account of actual tribal movements.

The Zuñi creation epic, though never committed to writing, is several literary stages in advance of the *Wàlam Olum*. The Zuñi are a sedentary people living in the high valleys of what is now New Mexico. When Coronado discovered them in 1540 they were distributed among the Seven Cities of Cibola, subsisting on agriculture and an extensive trade with adjacent tribes in blankets, salt, cotton, and silver and turquoise jewelry. Like the *Walam Olum* their Creation Myth purports to give a history of the tribe from the creation of the world to its settlement in its present location. The manner in which it is preserved in entirety is exceedingly interesting. It is serial in composition, and the various parts are each committed to one of the priestly orders called the Midmost, whose office is hereditary in a single clan, outranking all other clans and priesthoods as "Masters of the House of Houses." Each division of the Epic is called a "Talk," but the completed serial is known as "The Speech." When performed in order accompanied by dance and symbolic rites, it constitutes the most interesting literary survival in the New World.

In structure the parts of the Zuñi myth indicate development from primitive song sequences, the narrative parts of which have been shaped, as already suggested, out of prose, into a blank verse matrix. Within this the speeches of the Uanami, or Beloved Gods, which were naturally the first parts

to take permanent literary form, are enclosed. These speeches are more lyric in feeling than the narrative parts, and, says Cushing, "are almost always in faultless blank verse measure, and are often grandly poetic," an observation which is borne out by his own incompleted translations. See the following speech of the Beloved Gods, taking counsel how they will prepare the earth for men:

Let us shelter the land where our children are resting.
Yea, the depths and the valleys beyond shall be sheltered
By the shade of our cloud shield.
Let us lay to its circle
Our firebolts of thunder, to all the four quarters
Then smite with our arrows of lightning from under!
Lo the earth shall heave upward and downward with thunder!
Lo the fire shall belch outward and burn the world over
And floods of hot water shall seethe swift before it!
Lo, smoke of earth stenches shall blacken the daylight
And deaden the sense of them else escaping
And lessen the number of fierce preying monsters
That the earth be made safer for men and more stable.

Or later, in another measure, Pautiwa, the "cloud sender and sun priest of souls," speaks in the councils of the gods to the K'yah'he:

As a woman with children
Is loved for her power
Of keeping unbroken
The life line of kinsfolk,
So shalt thou, tireless hearer,
Be cherished among us
And worshipped of mortals
For keeping unbroken
The tale of Creation.

The prose portions of the tale relate how Awonawilona, the All Father, was "conceived within himself and thought outward in space; whereby mists of increase, steams potent of growth, were evolved and uplifted." By this process of out-thinking he concentrated himself in the form of the Sun, forming out of his own substance the Fourfold-Containing Earth Mother and the All-Covering Father Sky. The world of men were the offspring of these two.

In the beginning men existed in an unfinished state in the lowest of the four cave wombs of the Earth, groping in darkness. Then appeared the first saviour who by virtue of his innate "wisdom-knowledge" made his way to the upper world. At his entreaty the Sun Father impregnated with his beam the Foam Cap of the sea, from which were brought forth the Beloved Twain, twin gods of Fate and Chance, who figure in all pueblo folk-lore, "like to question and answer in deciding and doing." In one of their metamorphoses they are described:

Strong were they Twain,
  Strong and hard favoured.
Enduringly thoughtful were they Twain
  Enduring of will.
Unyieldingly thoughtful were they Twain
  Unyielding of will.
Swiftly thoughtful were they Twain
  Swift of will.

The rest of the story, dealing with the rescue of men by the Beloved Twain, the rendering of the earth stable and safe, and the teaching of the arts of war and peace, is too involved for recapitulation. Tribal history is indicated, but in a mythological, mystical manner. The Zuñi are by temperament disposed toward symbols and abstractions, for which their language is well adapted.

The following description of the creation of the twin gods is an excellent example of the rhythmic, unmeasured matrix:

To them the Sun Father imparted, still retaining, control-thought and his own knowledge-wisdom, even as to the offspring of wise parents their knowingness is imparted, and as to his right hand and his left hand a skilful man gives craft, freely, not surrendering his knowledge.

In presentation, the Zuñi Creation Myth is dramatized. This is true so far as discoverable—for we do not know exactly how the *Walam Olum* was recited—of all the tribal cycles. But in dealing with Amerind drama we must distinguish between dramaturgic recapitulation of creative episodes, and drama as literary form. It has occurred to the primitive mind everywhere that the gods are influenced by representations of their

supposed acts. The Shaman brings thunder by mimic thunder of his drum; he secures the return of summer by enacting the annual victory of heat and light over cold and darkness; he increases the fertility of the earth by performing reproductive acts amid solemn ceremonies.

It is possible that some such notion of promoting the welfare of the tribe may have been at the bottom of the performance at stated intervals of the pageant play of tribal history. But in most cases it has been superseded by motives of festivity and commemoration, and in part by those appetites for æsthetic enjoyment which we satisfy in modern drama.

The Indian is an excellent actor. Mirth-provoking mimicry and impromptu pantomime are the universal accompaniments of tribal leisure. Commemorative festivals frequently take the form of the Italian *commedia dell' arte*, in which an old story is played anew with traditional "business" and improvised lines.

In the history of one of the pueblos of the Rio Grande valley, there used to be celebrated a periodic community drama, which, given time to develop, might have resulted in a farce comedy of the sort which undoubtedly gave rise to, or at least suggested, the comedies of Aristophanes. The story relates that on an occasion when all the men of the pueblo were away on a buffalo hunt the women discovered an enemy party approaching. Hastily dressing themselves as men, the women stole upon their foes while they were still some distance from the pueblo, and by a show of force frightened them away. At the festival of this event, men and women change places for the whole of that day, wearing one another's clothes, assuming one another's duties, men at the ovens and women flourishing weapons. At some point in the day's events there is a re-enactment of the incident that gave rise to the celebration, in excellent pantomime, enriched by recollected "hits" of other days.

This sort of thing was usual throughout tribal life, and there is reason to believe that in the more advanced cultures it gave rise to more or less fixed comedy forms, some of which may yet be recovered in Mexico and Peru. Among our own Navaho Indians, parts of the Night Chant seem to be of this character. Unfortunately, however, the quality of the humour is such that it cannot be offered here. That such comedy, popular and

universal as it was, did not receive what may be called literary form, is probably partly owing to the nature of comedy, which demands spontaneity as its chief concomitant, and in part to the lower esteem in which it was held. Comedy had little to do with making the world work well together, which was the primary object of Amerind literature.

What appears as a single exception to the seriousness of formal drama among American aborigines is the institution known among the pueblos of the South-west as the society of the Koshare, the Delight Makers. The function of this group is differently understood by ethnologists. Bandelier interprets it chiefly as social corrective through the whips of laughter. Originally it seems to have personated the Spirits of the Ancestors, in connection with ritual dancers, cheering the tribe with the assurance of interest uninterrupted by death. Always the Koshare are supposed to be invisible, so their quips cannot be resented. But there is no doubt also that there is symbolic association of their function with the fertility-inducing thunderstorms of early summer, and with the idea of laughter and good nature as mystically beneficial to both the tribe and the crops. Their black and white makeup, such as clowns have immemorially worn, and their antic behaviour, is the sole tribute of the Amerind mind to the æsthetic use of the Comic Spirit.

For the basis of serious drama we have to fall back on the song sequence, which we have just seen is also the source of epic. There is no tribe without a number of such sequences arranged around either a story or a dramaturgic presentation of a saving act. Not until this material is all collected and compared can we be certain at what point the untutored literary instinct of the aboriginal turned to one form or the other. At present it seems unsafe to conclude that a ritual of acts will invariably produce the dramatic form, or a sequence of episodes an epic. The most that we can say is that it is easier, on the whole, to trace the song sequence under what is left to us of even the most sophisticated Amerind drama.

In the *Ollantay Tambo*, the best example of Inca drama, reduced to Spanish by Don Antonio Valdez, the Cura of Tinto, some five years before all Inca drama was forbidden, the dialogue still breaks into lyric quatrains at the high moments. The story dialogue is carried in very good octosyl-

labic blank verse, but every important speech is cast in such verse as this quotation from the speech of Ollantay, the hero, when he goes to ask the hand of his daughter from the Inca Pachacuti:

'Twas I that struck the fatal blow
When warlike Huncavila rose
Disturbing thy august repose,
And laid the mighty traitor low.[1]

Earlier in the play the friends of Ollantay warn him that his too ambitious passion for the Inca's daughter has been discovered; the warning is given in a song purporting to be addressed to the little field finch, in what appears to have been a favourite song measure:

Thou must not feed,
O Tuyallay,
In Nusta's field,
O Tuyallay,
Thou must not rob,
O Tuyallay,
The harvest maize,
O Tuyallay.

Let us select three of the many song sequences which are available for study, presenting three characteristic stages of literary development: the Songs of the Midé Brethren, a simple song ritual; the Hako, which might be described as a morality play or masque; and the Night Chant of the Navaho, which tends toward a generic American dramatic method.

The Midé Wiwin, or society of Shamans, is a secret organization of the Ojibway, including both men and women, and has for its object the attainment of mastery over the means of life, health, and subsistence, through communion with Spirit Power. Its chief interests to the literary student are the facts that it is one of the few literary enterprises which make use of "song boards," or "board plates," in which between straight lines are incised or painted mnemonic keys to the songs, and that the forms of those songs closely resemble the modern poetic mode which goes by the name of Imagism.

[1] Sir Clements Markham.

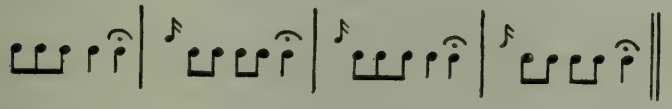
The Midé ritual is divided into four parts, each representing a degree of spiritual progress in the initiate, who must be letter-perfect in the songs. Each sequence is introduced by a recitative of instruction. Each song consists of a single sentence of recognizable poetic measure, repeated as many times as is necessary to complete the appropriate rhythm, with slight melodic variations.

When we say that the form of the Midé songs is Imagistic, we mean that each one of them states a thing apprehended through the external sense; something seen, heard, or done, enclosing a spiritual experience as in the thin film of a bubble. Thus, the literal Midé song says:

The sky
We have lost it.

But the shape of the song determined by the drum is as follows:

PLATE II



the words and additional meaningless syllables being repeated as often as necessary to complete it. The full content of this combination of words and rhythm, which is directed toward the acquirement of magic power over the weather, would be something like this:

Darkness devours our sky!
Toward its obscuring clouds
We extend our hands
For the favour of clear weather.
By our power we attain it!

Though the idea of reaching toward the sky is not to be found in the words, it is plainly indicated in the ideographic key by a hand extended toward a cloud.

If we assume that the office of the drum in this song is merely to unify, an office that in our sort of verse is served by the conventions of the printed page, we may safely discard the drum measure in translating, as is here done. It would also be

entirely within the province of faithful translation to express all the subtleties of Indian thought in this connection, the Indian's sense of the forces of nature, cloud, wind, and rain as being nearer to God than he is, and of his power over them through the attainment of mystic purity of heart and oneness of thought. The one convention of Indian verse which must not be broken is also the convention of Imagism, that the descriptive phrases must not merely describe, but must witness to something that has occurred in the soul of the singer. A little later in this same sequence this is even more clearly indicated. The women sing

We are using our hearts,

meaning in full:

With deep sincerity
We join our hearts
To the hearts of the Midé Brethren
  To find our sky again.
With our hearts
Made pure by singing
We uphold the hearts
  Of our Midé Brethren
  Seeking our sky.

Any number of interesting observations of the co-ordinate development of writing and poetry could be made from the study of this single ceremony, and the relation of both to their forest environment. In both there is that tendency, always so clearly marked in a complicated environment, to take the part for the whole, the leaf for the tree, the track of the bear's foot for the bear, the reaching hand for the aspiring spirit of man.

It is this suggested relation between literary form and the land which produced it, which gives point to a choice of the Hako ceremony of the Pawnees for analysis. Also, thanks to Alice Fletcher,[1] it is the best studied of Amerind rituals. The word Hako refers to the pulsating voice of the drum, the voice not only of the singers but the voice of all things, the corn, the eagle, the feathered stems, everything that partakes of the sacred function.

[1] See Bibliography.

The requisites of the Hako were such that only the well-to-do and important members of the tribe could assume responsibility for its performance. Two groups were required, who must not be of the same clan, and might even be of different tribes, for it was essentially a social drama, designed to insure friendship and peace between social groups, and to benefit society as a whole by bringing children to individuals.

Ritualistic in structure, the Hako exhibits a compactness and progressive unity that could be studied to advantage by modern writers of community masques and pageants. Miss Fletcher's analysis of the ceremony as a whole is so masterly that it would be as unfair to her as to the reader to abridge it. But there are some features that distinguish it as a literary production, which must be mentioned. Each movement is complete in itself, but indispensable. There is a closer relation between the emotional episodes and the rhythm, a finer web of words. Progressive stanza structure characterizes every movement. The verse forms are dramatically logical and rhythmically descriptive, the action leading and largely determining the form. To a very remarkable degree the verse contours conform to the contours of the country traversed, either actually or imaginatively, throughout the performance.

It is probable that this correspondence of form is unconscious on the part of the Pawnee authors, for, as with most folk-drama, many minds must have gone to the making of it. The Pawnees and cognate tribes who use the Hako have lived so long exposed to the influence of the open country about the Platte River that their songs unconsciously take the shape of its long undulations. Miss Fletcher has not always been successful in preserving the poetic quality of the songs, but their rhythms are most faithfully worked out, as in the following, one of a series of songs describing the journey of the Father group to the group called The Children:

> Dark against the sky yonder distant line
> Runs before, trees we see, long the line of trees
> Bending, swaying in the breeze,

which accurately represents the jog trot of journey across the rolling prairie. A little later comes the crowding of ponies on the river bank:

Behold upon the river's bank we stand,
River we must cross.
Oh Kawas come, to thee we call,
Oh come and thy permission give
Into the stream to wade and forward go.

Finally, on the other side, after stanzas representing every stage of the crossing, there is the flick of the ponies' tails as the wind dries them.

Hither winds, come to us, touch where water
O'er us flowed when we waded,
Come, O winds, come!

Again, as the visiting party draws up from the lowlands about the river, we have this finely descriptive rhythm:

The mesa see, it's flat top like a straight line cuts across the sky,
It blocks our path, and we must climb, the mesa climb.

What work in any language more obviously illustrates the influence of environment on literary form? Other examples there are of much subtler and more discriminating rhythms, but they only announce themselves after long intimacy with the land in which they develop. The homogeneity of the Amerind race makes it possible to detect environmental influences with a precision not possible among the mixed races of Europe.

In the Mountain Chant, the *Dislyidje qacal* of the Navaho, we have the Odyssey of a nomadic people, of great practical efficiency, wandering for generations in such a country as produced the earlier books of the Old Testament. It is notable that while the epics of their town-building neighbours, the Zuñi, Hopi, and Tewa peoples, are tribal, the chief literary product of the wandering Diné, like the story of Abraham, is the personal adventure of one man with the gods.

The full ceremony of the Night Chant is a nine days' performance of symbolic rites, song sequences, and dramatic dances. The final act of all, performed in public as a sort of tribal festival, at night, within a corral of juniper boughs, takes a special name, *Ilnasjingo qacal*, "chant within the dark circle of branches." This is the only part of the ceremony witnessed

by whites, and conforms more nearly to our idea of dramatic entertainment.

The hero of the *Dislyidje qacal* is a Navaho, reared in the neighbourhood of the Carrizo Mountains, Arizona, from which he later takes his name, Dislyi Neyani, "Reared-within-the-Mountains." Having disregarded the instruction of his father while out hunting one day, he is taken captive by the Utes and carried to their country. Here the gods, in the shape of an old woman and an owl, the little burrow-nesting owl, signify their intention of befriending him, calling him very much as Abraham was called out of Ur of the Chaldees, and setting him, under their tutelage, on the trail toward his home.

The rest of the story is taken up with his adventures, all of a supernatural character, and all directed toward the Indian's great desideratum, the acquirement of mystical knowledge and power. The itinerary of this journey is mapped across the Navaho country as was the voyage of Ulysses along the coasts of the Mediterranean, with the addition of a number of places belonging exclusively to Navaho cosmogony, the House of the Dew, the House of the Lightning, and the House of the Rock Crystal.

Reaching his old home at the end of these adventures, Reared-within-the-Mountains discovers that even after he has been washed and dried with cornmeal according to the Navaho custom, the odours of his people and their lodges are intolerable to him. Finally the difficulty is remedied by performing over him the ceremony of the *Dislyidje qacal*, recapitulating his adventures, and his people become tolerable to him once more.

Not long after this ceremonial purification, Reared-within-the-Mountains is out hunting with his younger brother on Black Mountain. Suddenly he speaks and says: "Younger Brother, behold the Holy Ones." But his brother sees nothing. Then Dislyi Neyani speaks again:

> Farewell, Younger Brother. From the holy places the gods come for me. You will never see me again, but when the showers pass and the thunders peal, "There," you will say, "is the voice of my Elder Brother." And when the harvest comes, of the beautiful birds and grasshoppers, you will say, "There is the ordering of my Elder Brother."

And with these words he vanished.

This incident of the passing of Dislyi Neyani is referred to in the Songs of the Thunder, of which the opening stanza of the first and the second stanza of the twelfth follow:

1

Thonah, Thonah!
There is a voice above,
The voice of the Thunder,
Within the dark cloud
Again and again it sounds!
Thonah, Thonah!

12

The voice that beautifies the land,
The voice above,
The voice of the grasshopper,
Among the plants.
Again and again it sounds,—
The voice that beautifies the land.

The ostensible purpose of any given presentation of the Night Chant is to cure sickness, but it is made the occasion of invoking the Unseen Powers on behalf of the people at large. The first four days are by way of preparation and purification, four being the sacred Navaho number, the number of the four quarters. The other five are essentially dramatic, beginning on the fifth day with an attempt to create the *mise-en-scène* with dry sand paintings on the floor of the Medicine Lodge.

Heretofore all pictorial designs of this sort have been studied wholly from the point of view of their relation to the religious significance of the rite. If the sand paintings, reproductions of which are to be found in reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, instead of being spread out flat, and the ritual performed around them, were stood up on edge with the ritual performed in front, we should quickly discover what seems clearly indicated, the operation of the dramatic instinct. Disciples of Gordon Craig and the symbolists would require very little assistance from the ethnologist to make out the relevance of the sand paintings to the action going on around them.

Nor is this the only green twig of modern stagecraft which may be observed at the Night Chant. The legerdemain of the

Hoshkwan dance, in which the yucca is made to appear as growing from the newly planted root to flower and fruit in about the space of an hour, is the forerunner of the theatrical "transformation scene" still so dear to popular taste. All these things will bear study from the theatrical point of view. For the literary rendering of the lines, from which quotations have been given, we are indebted to Washington Matthews, as well as for all we know as a whole of the Night Chant, or, as it is otherwise known, the Mountain Chant.

Like the Hako, the Navaho chant is based on a song sequence; the logical relation is scarcely discoverable without the accompanying action. Taken together, the songs, dances, and interpolated comedy of the last night's performance, within the dark circle of branches, is akin to that most American and popular variety of entertainment, the musical comedy. The same can be said of many of the South-west ceremonials, where the social character is evident, modifying the element of religious observance.

There is a disposition among ethnologists to regard the loosened structure of tribal performances as indicating the breaking down of religious significance. It seems perhaps rather the breaking in of the literary instinct; the unconscious movement of a people to utilize a philosophy already thoroughly assimilated and familiar, as a medium of social expression.

It is not, however, the significance of Amerind literature to the social life of the people which interests us. That life is rapidly passing away and must presently be known to us only by tradition and history. The permanent worth of song and epic, folk-tale and drama, aside from its intrinsic literary quality, is its revelation of the power of the American landscape to influence form, and the expressiveness of democratic living in native measures. We have seen how easily some of our outstanding writers have grafted their genius to the Amerind stock, producing work that passes at once into the category of literature. And in this there has nothing happened that has not happened already in every country in the world, where the really great literature is found to have developed on some deep rooted aboriginal stock. The earlier, then, we leave off thinking of our own aboriginal literary sources as the product of an alien and conquered people, and begin to think of

them as the inevitable outgrowth of the American environment, the more readily shall we come into full use of it: such use as has in other lands produced out of just such material the plays of Shakespeare, the epics of Homer, the operas of Wagner, the fables of Æsop, the hymns of David, the tales of Andersen, and the Arabian Nights.

Perhaps the nearest and best use we can make of it is the mere contemplation of its content and quality, its variety and extent, to rid ourselves of the incubus of European influence and the ever-present obsession of New York. For we cannot take even this cursory view of it without realizing that there is no quarter of our land that has not spoken with distinct and equal voice, none that is not able, without outside influence, to produce in its people an adequate and characteristic literary medium and form.

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CHAPTER VIII

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CLARISSA RINAKER.

CHAPTER IX

MINOR HUMORISTS

An extensive list of American humorists prior to 1889 is given by H. C. Lukens under the title of American Literary Comedians in Harper's Magazine,

April, 1890. Outline biographies of living writers from 1899 on may be found in the successive volumes of Who's Who in America. Bibliographical facts there given should be supplemented by reference to the American Catalogue and the United States Catalogue. Out of many appreciations of American humour should be noticed American Humour by Professor Stephen Leacock in The Nineteenth Century, August, 1914, and Humour and Satire, Chapter V of The American Mind, by Professor Bliss Perry.

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Also author of plays: The Sultan of Sulu, 1902; Peggy from Paris, 1903; The County Chairman, 1903; the Sho-Gun, 1904; The College Widow, 1904; The Bad Samaritan, 1905; Just Out of College, 1905; Marse Covington, 1906; Mrs. Peckham's Carouse, 1906; Father and the Boys, 1907; The Fair Co-Ed, 1908; The Old Town, 1909; Nettie, 1914.

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CHAPTER X

LATER POETS

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CHAPTER XI

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CHAPTER XII

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LILLIAN LANG

CHAPTER XIV

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CHAPTER XVI

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Chauncey Wright and Other Empiricists

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See articles by Royce and others in The New World, Dec., 1900.

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Stallo, J. B. (1823–1900). The Philosophy of Nature. 1848.

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Charles S. Peirce (1839–1914)

Peirce did not publish a single book, but his published and unpublished writings would fill many volumes. The most important of the former are:

Three essays in The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, Vol. II, 1868: (1) Questions Concerning Certain Faculties, pp. 103–14, (2) Some Consequences of Four Incapacities, pp. 140–57, (3) The Ground of Validity of the Laws of Logic, pp. 193–202; review of Fraser's Berkeley in The North American Review, Vol. CIII, pp. 449–72 (1871)—explains Peirce's adherence to the realism of Duns Scotus; six papers in The Popular Science Monthly, Vols. XII–XIII (1877–78), entitled Illustrations of the Logic of Science, and outlining the doctrine of pragmatism: (1) The Fixation of Belief, xii, 1–15, (2) How to Make Our Ideas Clear, XII, 286–302, (3) The Doctrine of Chances, XII, 604–15, (4) The Probability of Induction, XII, 705–18, (5) The Order of Nature, XIII, 203–17, (6) Deduction, Induction, and Hypothesis, XIII, 470–482; six papers in The Monist, Vols. I–III (1891–93) dealing with the main outlines of his philosophy, "synechistic tychistic agapism": (1) The Architecture of Theories, I, 161–76, (2) The Doctrine of Necessity Examined, II, 321–37, (3) The Law of Mind, II, 533–59, (4) Man's Glassy

Essence, III, 1–22, (5) Evolutionary Love, III, 176–200, (6) Reply to the Necessitarians, III, 526–70; four papers in The Monist, Vols. xv–xvi (1905–06) distinguishing his own pragmatism (pragmaticism) from that of William James: (1) What Pragmatism Is, xv, 161–81, (2) The Issues of Pragmatism, xv, 481–99, (3) Mr. Peterson's Proposed Discussion, xvi, 147–151, (4) Prolegomena to an Apology for Pragmatism, xvi, 492–546; articles on Pragmatism, Synechism, Individual, Kind, Matter and Form, Reasoning and Scientific Method in Baldwin's Dictionary of Philosophy.

For a fuller bibliography of Peirce's published work, *see* the Journal of Philosophy, XIII (1916), 733–37. A partial list of the unpublished writings is to be found in the same Journal, pp. 708–09. The Journal of Philosophy devoted a special number (XIII, 701–37), to articles on Peirce by Royce, Dewey, and others.

Josiah Royce (1855–1916)

Primer of Logical Analysis for the Use of Composition Students. 1881. The Religious Aspects of Philosophy. 1885. The Spirit of Modern Philosophy. 1892. The Conception of God. Together with Comments thereon by S. E. Mezes, J. LeConte, and G. H. Howison, 1895. (2d ed. has also an added essay: The Absolute and the Individual). Studies of Good and Evil: A Series of Essays upon Problems of Life and Philosophy. 1898. The World and the Individual [Gifford Lectures]. 2 vols. 1900–02. The Conception of Immortality. 1902. Herbert Spencer: An Estimate and Review. 1904. The Science of the Ideal. In: Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 151ff. The Relation of the Principles of Logic to the Foundations of Geometry. Transactions of the American Mathematical Society, July, 1905. The Philosophy of Loyalty. 1908. Race Questions, Provincialisms, and Other American Problems. 1908. William James and Other Essays on the Philosophy of Life. 1911. The Sources of Religious Insight. 1912. Principles of Logic. In The Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences, edited by A. Ruge, 1913. The Problem of Christianity. 2 vols. 1913. War and Insurance. 1914. The Great Community. 1917.

For full bibliography of books and articles by Royce, and of important criticisms on him, *see* The Philosophical Review, May, 1916, pp. 515–22.

William James (1842–1910)

Introduction to The Literary Remains of Henry James. 1885. Principles of Psychology. 2 vols. 1890. Psychology: Briefer Course. 1892. The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy. 1897. Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. 1898. Talks to Teachers on Psychology: and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals. 1899. The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature. 1902. Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking: Popular Lectures on Philosophy. 1907. The Meaning of Truth: A Sequel to Pragmatism. 1909. A Pluralistic Universe: Hibbert Lectures on the Present Situation in Philosophy. 1909. Some Problems in Philosophy: A Beginning of an Introduction to Philosophy. 1911. Memories and Studies. 1911. Essays in Radical Empiricism. 1912.

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John Dewey (1859—)

The Metaphysical Assumptions of Materialism. Journal of Speculative Philosophy, Vol. 16, 1882. Psychology. 1886. Knowledge as Idealization. Mind, Vol. 12, 1887. Leibniz's New Essays concerning the Human Understanding. 1888. The Study of Ethics. 1894. School and Society. 1901. Studies in Logical Theory (includes essays by H. B. Thompson, S. F. McClennan, M. L. Ashley, W. C. Gore, W. A. Heidel, H. W. Stuart, and A. W. Moore). 1903. Does Reality Possess Practical Character. Essays in Honor of William James. 1908. How We Think. 1909. The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy. 1910. German Philosophy and Politics. 1915. Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education. 1916. Essays in Experimental Logic. 1916. Creative Intelligence (contains essays by A. W. Moore, H. C. Brown, B. H. Bode, E. D. Mead, J. H. Tufts, H. W. Stuart, and H. M. Kallen). 1917. Ethics (with J. H. Tufts). 1908. Schools of Tomorrow (with Evelyn Dewey). 1917. Reconstruction in Philosophy. 1920.

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Moore, A. W. Pragmatism and its Critics. 1911.
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James Mark Baldwin (1861—)

Handbook of Psychology. 2 vols. 1889–90. Mental Development in Child and Race: Methods and Processes. 1895. Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development. 1897. Development and Evolution. 1902. Fragments in Philosophy and Science. 1902. Thought and Things: A Study of the Development and Meaning of Thought: A Genetic Logic. Vols. I–III. 1906–11. The Story of the Mind. 1908. Darwin and the Humanities. 1909. The Individual and Society; or Psychology and Sociology. 1911. History of Psychology: A Sketch and an Interpretation. 1913. Genetic Theory of Reality. 1915. The Super-State and the Eternal Values. 1916. Editor of the Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology. 1901–1905.

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Sonnets. 1894. The Sense of Beauty. 1896. The Hermit of Carmel and Other Poems. 1900. Interpretations of Poetry and Religion. 1900. Lucifer: A Theological Tragedy. 1901. The Life of Reason or Phases of Human Progress. 5 vols. 1905–06. Three Philosophical Poets. 1910. Winds of Doctrine. 1913. Egotism in German Philosophy. 1916. Character and Opinion in the United States. 1920.

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Philosophic Studies . . . in Commemoration of the Seventieth Birthday of George Howison. 1905.
Studies in Honor of J. E. Creighton. 1917.
Studies in Honor of William James. 1908.
Studies Philosophic and Psychologic in Honor of C. E. Garman. 1906.

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The Journal of Speculative Philosophy. Ed. W. T. Harris. 1867–93. The Monist. Ed. Paul Carus. 1890– . The International Journal of Ethics. Ed. J. H. Tufts. 1890– . The Philosophical Review. Ed. J. E. Creighton. 1893– . The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Method. Ed. F. J. E. Woodbridge and Wendell T. Bush. 1905– . E. B. Titchener is American editor of Mind: A Quarterly Journal of Philosophy and Psychology, to which many American writers contribute. Philosophical articles also appear occasionally in the psychologic journals, The Popular Science Monthly (now the Scientific Monthly), and in such religious periodicals as The

American Journal of Theology, The Harvard Theological Review, The Catholic World. The following philosophical or semi-philosophical journals are no longer published: The Western, ed. Thomas Davidson, 1872–75, The Platonist, ed. Thomas M. Johnson, The Radical, The Index (continued as The Open Court), The New World, ed C. C. Everett. Most early philosophic articles appeared either in The North American Review or in the religious periodicals like The Princeton Review.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DRAMA: 1860–1918

The following bibliography covers the most important dramatists of the period between 1860–1918. As far as possible, dates of the opening performances of plays are given, the city being New York unless otherwise stated. A * before the title of a play is indication that it is published.

Bibliographies, Collections, and Sources for the Later History of the American Theatre

Atkinson, Dr. F. W. American Plays. A Private Catalogue. Brooklyn.

Becks Collection of Prompt Books in the New York Public Library. Bulletin, February, 1906.

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Brown, T. Allston. History of the New York Stage, from the first performance in 1732 to 1901. 3 vols. 1903.

Crawford, Mary C. The Romance of the American Theatre. Boston, 1913.

Dickinson, Thomas H. Chief Contemporary Dramatists. Boston, 1915.

Dramatic Index. 1909, *seq.* Boston. (Under Drama, Theatre, Pageantry, Community, Moving Pictures, Little Theatres, etc.)

Harris, C. Fiske. Index to American Poetry and Plays in the Collection of. Providence. 1874; rev. ed., 1886.

Haskell, D. C. A List of American Dramas in the New York Public Library. 1916. See Bulletin, October, 1915.

Hutton, Laurence. Plays and Players. 1875.

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Moses, Montrose J. The American Dramatist. Boston, 1911. Famous Actor-Families in America. 1906. Representative Plays by American Dramatists. 3 vols. 1765–1917. 1917–.

Pence, James Harry. The Magazine and the Drama. 1896. (Dunlap Society.)

Phelps, H. P. A Record of the Albany Stage. 1880.

Quinn, A. H. Representative American Plays. 1917.

Roden, Robert F. Later American Plays. 1900. (Dunlap Society.)

Tompkins, Eugene, and Kilby, Quincy. History of the Boston Theatre. Boston.

Willard, G. O. History of the Providence Stage. 1762–1891.

Books on the American Drama, or Relating to the American Drama

Adams, W. Davenport. Dictionary of the Drama. Philadelphia. 1904. (A-G.)

Andrews, Charlton. The Drama of To-day. Philadelphia, 1913.

Baker, George P. Dramatic Technique. Boston, 1919.

Burton, Richard. The New American Drama. 1913.

Cheney, Sheldon. The New Movement in the Theatre. 1914. The Art Theatre:

A Discussion of its Ideals, its Organization and its Promise as a Corrective for Present Evils in the Commercial Theatre. 1917. The Out-of-Door Theatre. 1918.
Cannon, Fanny. Writing and Selling a Play. 1915.
Calvert, Louis. Problems of the Actor. 1918.
Chandler, Frank W. Aspects of Modern Drama. 1914.
Clapp, John B., and Edgett, E. F. Plays of the Present. Dunlap Society Publications, 1902.
Clark, Barrett H. The British and American Drama of To-day. 1915. European Theories of the Drama: An Anthology of Dramatic Theory and Criticism. Cincinnati, 1918.
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Grau, Robert. The Business Man in the Amusement World. 1910.
Hamilton, Clayton. Problems of the Playwright. 1917. Studies in Stagecraft. 1914. The Theory of the Theatre. 1910.
Hapgood, Norman. The Stage in America: 1897–1900. 1901.
Henderson, Archibald. The Changing Drama. 1914.
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Hutton, Laurence. Curiosities of the American Stage. 1891. Plays and Players. Boston, 1875.
Krows, Arthur E. Play Production in America. 1916.
Mackay, Constance D'Arcy. The Little Theatre in the United States. 1917.
MacKaye, Percy. The Civic Theatre. 1912. The Playhouse and the Play. 1909.
Matthews, Brander. A Book about the Theatre. 1916.
Moderwell, Hiram K. The Theatre of To-day. 1914.
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Nathan, George Jean. Another Book on the Theatre. 1915.
Phelps, William Lyon. The Twentieth Century Theatre. 1918.
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Ruhl, Arthur. Second Nights. 1914.
Shipman, Louis Evans. The True Adventures of a Play. 1914.
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Biographical

Anderson, Mary. A Few Memories. 1896.
Belasco, David. Story of My Life. (A serial in Hearst's Magazine, beginning March, 1914. *See* William Winter.) The Theatre Through Its Stage Door. 1919.
Creahan, John. Life of Laura Keene: Actress, Manager, and Scholar. 1897.
Daly, Joseph Francis. The Life of Augustin Daly. 1917. (*See* Augustin Daly, under Dramatists.)
Dithmar, E. A. John Drew. 1900.
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Grossman, Edwina Booth. Edwin Booth: Recollections by his Daughter. 1894.
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—— Joseph. Autobiography. 1889, 1890. (*See* Francis Wilson.)
Keese, W. L. Life of W. E. Burton. Dunlap Society Publications, No. 14. (*See* also his A Group of Comedians. Dunlap Society, n. s., 15, 1901.)
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Modjeska, Helena. Memories and Impressions. An Autobiography. 1910.
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Morris, Clara. The Life of a Star. 1906.
Moses, Montrose J. Famous Actor-Families in America. 1906.
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Rinau, Dora. Diary of a Daly Débutante. Being Passages from the Journal of a Member of Augustin Daly's Famous Company of Players. 1910.
Sothern, Edward H. The Melancholy Tale of "Me": My Remembrances. 1916.
Stebbins, Emma. Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of Her Life. Boston, 1878.
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Williams, John D. Charles Frohman.
Wilson, Francis. Joseph Jefferson. Reminiscences of a Fellow Player. 1906.
Wilstach, Paul. Richard Mansfield, the Man and the Actor. 1908. (*See* William Winter.)
Winter, William. John Brougham. 1881. Ada Rehan. 1891. Life and Art of Edwin Booth. 1893. Life and Art of Richard Mansfield. 2 vols. 1910. The Wallet of Time. 2 vols. 1913. Tyrone Power. 1913. Life of David Belasco. 2 vols. 1918.
Woollcott, Alexander. Mrs. Fiske: Her Views on Actors, Acting, and the Problems of Production. 1917. (See Frank C. Griffith's Mrs. Fiske. Washington, 1912.)

The Little Theatre Movement

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*Portmanteau Plays. Stuart Walker. With Introduction by Edward Hale Bierstadt. Cincinnati. 1917. More Portmanteau Plays. 1919.
*Provincetown Plays. 1st series. 1916: Bound East for Cardiff. Eugene G. O'Neill; The Game. Louise Bryant; King Arthur's Socks. Floyd Dell.

2d series. 1916: Freedom. John Reed; Enemies. Neith Boyce and Hutchins Hapgood; Suppressed Desires. G. C. Cook and Susan Glaspell. 3d series. 1917: The Two Sons. Neith Boyce; Lima Beans. Alfred Kreymborg; Before Breakfast. Eugene G. O'Neill.

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Belasco, David. May Blossom. Madison Square Theatre, 12 Apr., 1884. Valerie (From Sardou's "Fernande.") Wallack's Theatre, 15 Feb., 1886 (Lester Wallack, Kyrle Bellew). Baron Rudolph (With Bronson Howard). Fourteenth Street Theatre, 24 Oct., 1887. The Wife (With Henry C. DeMille). Lyceum Theatre, 1 Nov., 1887 (Herbert Kelcey, Henry Miller, and William Faversham, etc.). Lord Chumley (With Henry C. DeMille). Lyceum, 21 Aug., 1888 (E. H. Sothern, Margaret Anglin, and Maude Adams). The Charity Ball (With Henry C. De Mille). Lyceum, 19 Nov., 1889. Men and Women (With Henry C. De Mille). Proctor's 23d Street Theatre, 21 Oct., 1890 (Orrin Johnson, Emmet Corrigan, Maude Adams, etc.). Miss Helyett (From the French). Star Theatre, 3 Nov., 1891 (Mrs. Leslie Carter, etc.). The Girl I Left Behind Me (With Franklyn Fyles). Empire Theatre, 25 Jan., 1893 (W. H. Thompson, Orrin Johnson, Cyril Scott, Master Wallie Eddinger, Edna Wallace, Katherine Florence, etc.). The Younger Son (From the German). Empire, 24 Oct., 1893 (Henry Miller, William Faversham, W. H. Thompson, Viola Allen, May Robson, Edna Wallace, etc.). The Heart of Maryland. Herald Square Theatre, 22 Oct., 1895 (Mrs. Leslie Carter, Maurice Barry-

more, etc.). Zaza (From the French of Pierre Berton and Charles Simon). Garrick Theatre, 8 Jan., 1899 (Mrs. Leslie Carter). Naughty Anthony. Herald Square, 8 Jan., 1900 (Frank Worthing, W. J. Le Moyne, Blanche Bates). Madame Butterfly (From John Luther Long's Japanese story). Herald Square, 5 Mar., 1900 (Blanche Bates, Frank Worthing, etc.). Du Barry. Criterion Theatre, 25 Dec., 1901 (Hamilton Revelle, Mrs. Leslie Carter, etc.). The Darling of the Gods. Belasco (now The Republic), 3 Dec., 1902 (Blanche Bates, George Arliss). Sweet Kitty Bellairs. Belasco (now The Republic), 8 Dec., 1903 (Henrietta Crossman). Adrea (With John Luther Long). Belasco Theatre (now The Republic), 11 Jan., 1905 (Mrs. Leslie Carter). The Girl of the Golden West. Belasco (now The Republic), 14 Nov., 1905 (Blanche Bates). The Rose of the Rancho (With Richard Walton Tully). Belasco (now The Republic), 27 Nov., 1906 (Frances Starr). A Grand Army Man (With Pauline Phelps and Marion Short). Stuyvesant Theatre (now The Belasco), 16 Oct., 1907 (David Warfield). The Lily (From the French of Pierre Wolff and Gaston Leroux). Stuyvesant (now The Belasco), 23 Dec., 1909 (Nance O'Neil). *The Return of Peter Grimm. Belasco, 2 Jan., 1911 (David Warfield). [See M. J. Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists, Vol. III.] The Secret (From the French of Henry Bernstein). Belasco, 23 Dec., 1913 (Frances Starr). Van Der Decken. Playhouse, Wilmington, Del., 12 Dec., 1915 (David Warfield).

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Boucicault is said to have adapted and written some four hundred plays, but few of them are on American themes or were first produced in America. The most important in these respects are: The Poor of New York, 1857; *The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana, performed at The Winter Garden, New York, 5 Dec., 1859; *Rip Van Winkle; or, The Sleep of Twenty Years (adapted from other dramatic versions), Adelphi Theatre, London, 4 Sept., 1865. *See* Walsh, Townsend, The Career of Dion Boucicault. The Dunlap Society, 1915.

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Carleton, Henry Guy (1856–1910). *Memnon. 1881. Never produced. Privately printed, 1884. Victor Durand. Wallack's Theatre, 18 Dec., 1884. The Pembertons. 1889. The Lion's Mouth (1890). Star Theatre, 11 Sept., 1892. Ye Earlie Trouble (1891). Proctor's Twenty-Third Street Theatre, 10 Sept., 1892. (Rewritten as When George Was King.) The Princess of Erie (1892.) A Gilded Fool. Miner's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 7 Nov., 1892 (N. C. Good-

win). *The Butterflies. Palmer's Theatre, 5 Feb., 1894 (John Drew). That Imprudent Young Couple. Empire Theatre, 23 Sept., 1895 (John Drew and Maude Adams). [As Jack's Honeymoon, 1898.] Ambition. Miner's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 22 Oct., 1895. Colinette (1898.) Knickerbocker Theatre, 3 Apr., 1899 (Julia Marlowe).

Cohan, George M. The Governor's Son. Savoy Theatre, 25 Feb., 1901. Running for Office. Fourteenth Street Theatre, 27 Apr., 1903. Little Johnny Jones. 7 Nov., 1904. [As the Honeymooners. Aërial Theatre, 3 June, 1907.] George Washington, Jr. 12 Feb., 1906. Popularity. Rochester, N. Y., 3 Sept., 1906. Fifty Miles from Boston. Springfield, Mass., March, 1907. Garrick Theatre, New York, 3 Feb., 1908. The Talk of New York. Buffalo, N. Y., Sept., 1907. The Yankee Prince. Knickerbocker Theatre, 20 April, 1908. The American Idea. New York Theatre, 6 Oct., 1908. The Man Who Owns Broadway. 11 Oct., 1909. Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford. Gaiety Theatre, 19 Sept., 1910. The Little Millionaire. George M. Cohan Theatre, 22 Sept., 1911. Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway. Columbus, Ohio, 25 Sept., 1905. New York, 14 Mar., 1912. Broadway Jones. 23 Sept., 1912. Seven Keys to Baldpate. Hartford, Conn., 15 Sept., 1913. The Miracle Man. Astor Theatre, 21 Sept., 1914. Hello, Broadway! 25 Dec., 1914.

Crothers, Rachel. *The Rector. Madison Square Theatre, 3 Apr., 1902 (French). Nora. Savoy Theatre, Sept., 1903. The Point of View. Manhattan Theatre, Mar., 1904. *The Three of Us. Madison Square Theatre, 17 Oct., 1906 (French). The Coming of Mrs. Patrick. Madison Square Theatre, 6 Nov., 1907. Myself—Bettina. Daly's Theatre, 5 Oct., 1908. *A Man's World. Comedy Theatre, 8 Feb., 1910. *The Herfords (He and She). Plymouth Theatre, Boston, 5 Feb., 1912 (In Quinn, Representative American Plays). Ourselves. Lyric Theatre, 13 Nov., 1913. Young Wisdom. Criterion Theatre, 5 Jan., 1914. Heart of Paddywhack. Grand Opera House, Nov., 1914. Old Lady 31. Thirty-ninth Street Theatre, 30 Oct., 1916. The Little Journey. Little Theatre, 26 Dec., 1918.

Daly, Augustin (1838–1899). *Under the Gaslight. New York Theatre, 12 Aug., 1867 (French). The Red Scarf. Conway's Theatre, 1869. A Flash of Lightning. Broadway Theatre, June, 1868. Horizon. Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 25 Mar., 1871. Divorce. Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 5 Sept., 1871. Madeline Morel. Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 20 May, 1873. Pique. Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 14 Dec., 1875. The Dark City. Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 4 Sept., 1877.

Daly also adapted many foreign plays and many novels, and revived Shakespeare and early English comedies.

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For Henry C. De Mille, *see* Belasco.

Fitch, Clyde (1865–1909). *Beau Brummell. Madison Square Theatre, 17 May, 1890 (Richard Mansfield). Frédéric Lemaître. Daly's Theatre, 1 Dec., 1890 (Henry Miller). Betty's Finish. Boston Museum, 29 Dec., 1890. *Pamela's

Prodigy. Royal Court Theatre, London, 21 Oct., 1891 (Mrs. John Wood). A Modern Match. Union Square Theatre, 14 Mar., 1892 (Later played by Mr. and Mrs. Kendal as Marriage). The Masked Ball (French of Bisson). Palmer's Theatre, 3 Oct., 1892 (John Drew). The Social Swim (French of Sardou). Alvin Theatre, Pittsburgh, Pa., 9 Jan., 1893 (Marie Wainwright). The Harvest (Later as The Moth and the Flame). Fifth Avenue Theatre, 26 Jan., 1893. April Weather. Chicago Opera House, 29 May, 1893 (Sol Smith Russell). A Shattered Idol (Balzac's Old Goriot). Globe Theatre, St. Paul, 31 July, 1893. An American Duchess (French of Lavadan). Lyceum Theatre, 20 Nov., 1893. Mrs. Grundy, Jun. (French), 1894. Gossip (French of Claretie, with Leo Ditrichstein). Palmer's Theatre, 11 Mar., 1895 (Mrs. Langtry). His Grace de Grammont. Park Theatre, Brooklyn, 11 Sept., 1895 (Otis Skinner). Mistress Betty. Garrick Theatre, 15 Oct., 1895 (Modjeska). [Later as The Toast of the Town.] Bohemia (French). Empire Theatre, 9 Mar., 1896. The Liar (French of Bisson). Hoyt's Theatre, 2 Sept., 1896. A Superfluous Husband (From the German, with Leo Ditrichstein). Miner's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 4 Jan., 1897. *Nathan Hale. Chicago, 31 Jan., 1898 (N. C. Goodwin and Maxine Elliott). *The Moth and the Flame. Lyceum Theatre, 11 Apr., 1898 (Herbert Kelcey and Effie Shannon). [In Moses, M. J., Representative Plays, Vol. III.] The Head of the Family (From the German, with Leo Ditrichstein). Knickerbocker Theatre, 6 Dec., 1898 (William H. Crane). *Barbara Frietchie; the Frederick Girl. Broad Street Theatre, Philadelphia, 10 Oct., 1899 (Julia Marlowe). The Cowboy and the Lady. Knickerbocker Theatre, 25 Dec., 1899 (N. C. Goodwin and Maxine Elliott). Sapho (French of Daudet). Wallack's Theatre, 16 Feb., 1900 (Olga Nethersole). *The Climbers. Bijou Theatre, 21 Jan., 1901 (Amelia Bingham and Clara Bloodgood). *Lovers' Lane. Manhattan Theatre, 6 Feb., 1901 (Zelda Sears). *Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines. Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, 7 Jan., 1901; New York, Feb. 4, 1901 (Ethel Barrymore). The Last of the Dandies. London, 24 Oct., 1901 (Beerbohm Tree). The Way of the World. Hammerstein's Victoria Theatre, 4 Nov., 1901 (Elsie De Wolfe). The Girl and the Judge. Lyceum Theatre, 4 Dec., 1901 (Annie Russell). *The Stubbornness of Geraldine. Garrick Theatre, 3 Nov., 1902 (Mary Mannering). *The Girl With the Green Eyes. Savoy Theatre, 25 Dec., 1902 (Clara Bloodgood). The Bird in the Cage. Bijou Theatre, 12 Jan., 1903. *Her Own Way. Garrick Theatre, 28 Sept., 1903 (Maxine Elliott). Algy. Garrick Theatre, Chicago, 4 Oct., 1903 (Vesta Tilley). Major André. Savoy Theatre, 11 Nov., 1903 (Arthur Byron). Glad of It. Savoy Theatre, 28 Dec., 1903 (Millie James). The Frisky Mrs. Johnson. Garrick Theatre, 16 May, 1904 (Amelia Bingham). The Coronet of a Duchess. Garrick Theatre, 21 Sept., 1904 (Clara Bloodgood). Granny. Lyceum Theatre, 24 Oct., 1904 (Mrs. Gilbert, her farewell). Cousin Billy (French). Criterion Theatre, 2 Jan., 1905 (Francis Wilson). *The Woman in the Case. Herald Square Theatre, 30 Jan., 1905 (Blanche Walsh). *Her Great Match. Criterion Theatre, 4 Sept., 1905 (Maxine Elliott). [In Quinn, Representative American Plays.] Wolfville. (Dramatization of stories by Alfred Henry Lewis, with Willis Steell.) Philadelphia, 20 Oct., 1905 (N. C. Goodwin). The Toast of the Town. Daly's Theatre, 27 Nov., 1905 (Rewritten for Viola Allen from Mistress Betty). Toddles (French). Garrick Theatre, 16 Mar., 1906 (John Barrymore). The House of Mirth (From Edith Wharton). Savoy Theatre, 22 Oct., 1906 (Fay Davis). The Girl Who Has Everything. Liberty Theatre, 4 Dec., 1906 (Eleanor Robson).

*The Truth. Criterion Theatre, 7 Jan., 1907 (Clara Bloodgood). The Straight Road. Astor Theatre, 7 Jan., 1907 (Blanche Walsh). Her Sister (With Cosmo Gordon-Lennox). Hudson Theatre, 24 Dec., 1907 (Ethel Barrymore). Girls. Daly's Theatre, 23 Mar., 1908 (Charles Cherry and Laura Nelson Hall). The Blue Mouse (German). Lyric Theatre, 30 Nov., 1908 (Mabel Barrison). The Bachelor. Maxine Elliott Theatre, 15 Mar., 1909 (Charles Cherry). A Happy Marriage. Garrick Theatre, 12 Apr., 1909 (Doris Keane). *The City. Lyric Theatre, 22 Dec., 1909 (Tully Marshall).

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Eaton, W. P. The Dramatist as a Man of Letters: The Case of Clyde Fitch. In: At the New Theatre and Others, pp. 258–83.

Gillette, William. (1855–) The Professor. Madison Square Theatre, 1 June, 1881. Esmeralda. Madison Square Theatre, 29 Oct., 1881. *Digby's Secretary (German of Von Moser). Comedy Theatre, 29 Sept., 1884 (Later as The Private Secretary). *Held by the Enemy. Brooklyn, 22 Feb., 1886. She (Rider Haggard's novel). Niblo's Garden, 29 Nov., 1887. A Legal Wreck. Madison Square Theatre, 14 Aug., 1888. All the Comforts of Home (German). Boston Museum, 3 Mar., 1890. Mr. Wilkinson's Widows. Proctor's Twenty-third Street Theatre, 30 Mar., 1891. Ninety Days. Broadway Theatre, 6 Feb., 1893. Settled Out of Court (French of Bisson). Miner's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 8 Aug., 1893. *Too Much Johnson (French of Ordonneau). Holyoke, Mass., 25 Oct., 1894. *Secret Service. Broad Street Theatre, Philadelphia, 13 May, 1895 (French version by Pierre Decourcelle, at the Theatre Renaissance, Paris, 2 Oct., 1897). Because She Loved Him So (French of Bisson). New Haven, 28 Oct., 1898. Sherlock Holmes. Garrick Theatre, 6 Nov., 1899. The Painful Predicament of Sherlock Holmes. Metropolitan Opera House, 23 Mar., 1905. Clarice. Duke of York's Theatre, London, 13 Sept., 1905. The Red Owl (Vaudeville sketch). 1907. Samson (French of Bernstein). Criterion Theatre, 19 Oct., 1908. That Little Affair at Boyd's (Also called Ticey). Liberty Theatre, 18 Dec., 1908 (Special Matinée). The Robber. 1909. Among Thieves. 1909. *Electricity. Lyceum Theatre. Park Theatre, Boston, 26 Sept., 1910.

See, also, Gillette's The Illusion of The First Time in Acting. Introduction by George Arliss. Columbia University Dramatic Museum, 1915; Electricity. The Drama, Nov., 1913.

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Harrigan, Edward (1845–1911). Old Lavender. Theatre Comique, 3 Sept., 1877. Lorgaire. Theatre Comique, 25 Nov., 1878. Mulligan Guards. Theatre Comique, 13 Jan., 1879. Mulligan Guard Ball. Theatre Comique, 9 Feb., 1879. Mulligan Guard Chowder. Theatre Comique, 11 Aug., 1879. Squatter Sovereignty. New Theatre Comique, 9 Jan., 1882. Mordecai Lyons. New Theatre Comique, 26 Oct., 1882. McSorley's Inflation. New Theatre

Comique, 27 Nov., 1882. Cordelia's Aspiration. New Theatre Comique, 7 Nov., 1883. Dan's Tribulations. New Theatre Comique, 7 Apr., 1884. Investigation. New Theatre Comique, 1 Sept., 1884. The Grip. Harrigan's Park Theatre, 30 Nov., 1885. The Leather Patch. Harrigan's Park Theatre, 15 Feb., 1886. The O'Reagans. Harrigan's Park Theatre, 11 Oct., 1886. McNooney's Visit. (Later as 4–11–44). Harrigan's Park Theatre, 31 Jan., 1887. Pete. Harrigan's Park Theatre, 22 Nov., 1887. Waddy Googan. Harrigan's Park Theatre, 13 Sept., 1888. Reilly and the Four Hundred. Harrigan's Theatre, 14 Sept., 1891. The Last of the Hogans. Harrigan's (Garrick) Theatre, 21 Dec., 1891. The Woollen Stocking. Harrigan's (Garrick) Theatre, 19 Feb., 1893. Notoriety. Garrick Theatre, 10 Dec., 1894. These dates are taken from T. Allston Brown's History of the New York Theatre.

Herne, James A. (1839–1901). Hearts of Oak (First as Chums). Baldwin's Theatre, San Francisco, 9 Sept., 1879. Minute Men. Philadelphia, Chestnut Street Theatre, 5 Apr., 1886. Drifting Apart (First as Mary, the Fisherman's Child). People's Theatre, 7 May, 1888. Margaret Fleming. Lynn, Mass., 4 July, 1890. Shore Acres (First as The Hawthornes). McVicker's Theatre, Chicago, 23 May, 1892. Griffith Davenport. Lafayette Square Theatre, Washington, 16 Jan., 1899. Sag Harbor. Park Theatre, Boston, 23 Oct., 1899.

Herne also wrote: Old Stock Days in the Theatre. Arena, Sept., 1892; Truth for Truth's Sake in Drama. Arena, Feb., 1897.

See Moses, M. J. James A. Herne. In The American Dramatist, Chap. VI.

Howard, Bronson (1842–1908). Fantine. Detroit, 1864. *Saratoga. Fifth Avenue Theatre, 21 Dec., 1870 (Fanny Davenport, Clara Morris). Diamonds. Fifth Avenue Theatre, 26 Sept., 1872 (Fanny Davenport, Sara Jewett). Moorcroft; or, The Double Wedding. Fifth Avenue Theatre, 17 Oct., 1874 (Fanny Davenport). Lilian's Last Love. Hooley's Theatre, Chicago, 4 Sept., 1877 (Sydney Cowell). Hurricanes. Hooley's Theatre, Chicago, 27 May, 1878 (Sydney Cowell, Marie Wainwright). *Old Love Letters. Park Theatre, 31 Aug., 1878 (Agnes Booth). The Banker's Daughter (Revision of Lilian's Last Love). Union Square Theatre, 30 Sept., 1878 (J. H. Stoddard, Sara Jewett). Wives (From Molière). Daly's Theatre, 18 Oct., 1879 (John Drew, Ada Rehan, Charles Fisher). Fun in the Green-Room. Booth's Theatre, 10 Apr., 1882. *The Young Mrs. Winthrop. Madison Square Theatre, 9 Oct., 1882 (Agnes Booth, Henry Miller, W. J. Le Moyne). One of Our Girls. Lyceum Theatre, 10 Nov., 1885 (E. H. Sothern, Ida Vernon, Helen Dauvray). Met by Chance. Lyceum Theatre, 11 Jan., 1887. (E. H. Sothern, Helen Dauvray). *The Henrietta. Union Square Theatre, 26 Sept., 1887 (W. H. Crane, Stuart Robson). Baron Rudolph (First as Rudolph, Baron von Hallenstein). Fourteenth Street Theatre, 25 Oct., 1887. *Shenandoah. Star Theatre, 9 Sept., 1889 (Henry Miller, Viola Allen, Dorothy Dorr). [In M. J. Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists, Vol. III]. Aristocracy. Palmer's Theatre, 14 Nov., 1892 (Viola Allen, Blanche Walsh, William Faversham, Bruce McRae). Peter Stuyvesant (With Brander Matthews). Wallack's Theatre, 2 Oct., 1899 (W. H. Crane). Knave and Queen (With Sir Charles Young). Never acted. *Kate (Published 1906). Never acted.

Howard wrote also: The American Drama, Sunday Magazine, 7 Oct., 1906; The Autobiography of a Play. Introduction by Augustus Thomas, Columbia University Dramatic Museum. 1914.

Bronson, Howard: In Memoriam. Issued by the American Dramatists Club. 1910.

Matthews, B. Bronson Howard: An Appreciation. In: Gateways to Literature, and Other Essays, 1912.

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Howells, William Dean. *A Counterfeit Presentment. Cincinnati, 11 Oct., 1877. Yorick's Love (From the Spanish). Produced by Lawrence Barrett.

See, also, Bibliography to Book III, Chap. XI.

Hoyt, Charles (1859–1900). A Bunch of Keys; or, The Hotel. Newark, N. J., 13 Dec., 1883. A Rag Baby. Haverly's Theatre, 14 Aug., 1884. A Tin Soldier. The Standard Theatre, 3 May, 1886. A Hole in the Ground. Fourteenth Street Theatre, 12 Sept., 1887. A Brass Monkey. Bijou Theatre, 15 Oct., 1888 (Otis Harlan, Tim Murphy). A Midnight Bell. Bijou Theatre, 5 Mar., 1889. A Trip to Chinatown. Hoyt's Madison Square Theatre, 9 Nov., 1891. A Parlor Match. Bijou Theatre, 19 Sept., 1893. A Texas Steer; or, Money Makes the Mare Go. Hoyt's Madison Square Theatre, 8 Jan., 1894. A Temperance Town. Hoyt's Madison Square Theatre, 18 Sept., 1894. A Milk White Flag: And its Battle-scarred Followers on the Field of Mars and in the Court of Venus. A Tribute to our Citizen Soldiers by one who would gladly join their ranks if he knew how to dance. Hoyt's Theatre, 8 Oct., 1894. A Black Sheep: And How It Came Out in the Wash. Hoyt's Theatre, 6 Jan., 1896. A Runaway Colt: A dalliance with facts, folks, and other things pertaining to the noble game of baseball. American Theatre, 2 Dec., 1896. A Contented Woman: A Sketch of the Fair Sex in Politics. Hoyt's Theatre, 8 Feb., 1897. A Stranger in New York: Illustration of the Possible Adventures of. Hoyt's Theatre, 13 Sept., 1897 (Sadie Martinot). A Day and a Night in New York. Garrick Theatre, 30 Aug., 1898. A Dog in the Manger.

The dates taken from T. Allston Brown's History of the New York Stage. A typewritten set of Hoyt's farces was left, by his will, to the New York Public Library.

Klein, Charles (1867–1915). A Mile a Minute. 1890. By Proxy. 1892. El Capitan. 1895. The Merry Countess (From the French). 1895. *The District Attorney (With Harrison Grey Fiske). American Theatre, 21 Jan., 1895. Dr. Belgraff. Garden Theatre, 19 Apr., 1897. The Red Feather. 1897. At the Lyric Theatre, 9 Nov., 1903. *Heartsease (With J. I. C. Clark). Garden Theatre, 11 Jan., 1897 (Henry Miller). The Charlatan (Music by Sousa). Knickerbocker Theatre, 5 Sept., 1898. A Royal Rogue. Broadway Theatre, 24 Dec., 1900. The Auctioneer. Bijou Theatre, 23 Sept., 1901 (David Warfield). The Hon. John Grigsby. Manhattan Theatre, 29 Jan., 1902. Mr. Pickwick. Herald Square Theatre, 21 Jan., 1903. Truthful James. 1903. The Music Master. Belasco's Republic Theatre, 26 Sept., 1904 (David Warfield). *The Lion and the Mouse. Lyceum Theatre, 20 Nov., 1905. *The Daughters of Men. Astor Theatre, 19 Nov., 1906. A Paltry Million. 1906. The Cypher Code. 1906. *The Step Sister. Garrick Theatre, 14 Oct., 1907. *The Third Degree. Hudson Theatre, 1 Feb., 1909. *The Next of Kin. Hudson Theatre, 27 Dec., 1909. *The Gamblers. Maxine Elliott Theatre, 31 Oct., 1910. *Maggie Pepper. Harris Theatre, 31 Aug., 1911. The Ne'er-do-well. Lyric Theatre, 2 Sept., 1912. The Money Makers. Booth Theatre, 5 Oct., 1914. The Guilty Man (With Ruth Helen Davis). Astor Theatre, 18 Aug., 1916. Potash and Perlmutter. Cohan Theatre.

Klein wrote also: Psychology of the Drama, The Reader, Mar., 1906; Religion, Philosophy and the Drama, The Arena, May, 1907; What the Playwright Is Up Against, Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia), 25 Jan., 1913.

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Masques and Pageants: St. Gaudens Masque Prologue. Cornish, N. H., 20 June, 1905. Gloucester Pageant (The Canterbury Pilgrims). Gloucester, Mass., 3 Aug., 1909. Pittsburgh Pageant (A Masque of Labor). Pittsburgh, 4 July, 1910. Projected. *Sanctuary (A Bird Masque). Meriden, N. H., 12 Sept., 1913. Published 1914. *St. Louis (A Civic Masque). St. Louis, 28 May, 1914. Published 1914. *The New Citizenship (A Civic Ritual). New York City, 14 Feb., 1916. *Caliban (A Community Masque). The New York Shakespeare Tercentenary. Stadium of the College of the City of New York, 25 May, 1916. Published 1916. *The Evergreen Tree (A Christmas Masque). The Little Country Theatre, State Agricultural College, Fargo, N. D., 15 Dec., 1918.

Operas: *Sindbad the Sailor. Written, 1911. Music by Frederick S. Converse. *The Immigrants. Written 1912. Music by Frederick S. Converse. Published 1915. *The Canterbury Pilgrims. Music by Reginald DeKoven. New York Metropolitan Opera House, Mar., 1917. *Rip Van Winkle. Music by Reginald de Koven. Chicago Opera Company, 1919–1920.

See Moses, M. J. The American Dramatist. Chap. VIII.

MacKaye, Steele (1842–1894). Monaldi (With Francis Durivage). St. James Theatre, 8 Jan., 1872. Marriage (Adapted from the French of Octave Feuillet's Julie). St. James Theatre, 12 Feb., 1872. A Radical Fool. Written 1873–74. Unproduced. Arkwright's Wife (In collaboration with Tom Taylor). Theatre Royal, Leeds, England, 7 July, 1873 (Helen Barry). Silas Marner. (George Eliot's novel). Written 1873; unproduced. Jealousy (In collaboration with Charles Reade). Written 1873–74; unproduced. Rose Michel (Based on French of Ernest Blum, from Victor Hugo). Union Square Theatre, 23 Nov., 1875 (Rose Eytinge). Queen and Woman (In collaboration with J. V. Pritchard). Brooklyn, 14 Feb., 1876 (Kate Claxton). Twins (In collaboration with A. C. Wheeler). Wallack's Theatre, 12 Apr., 1876 (Lester Wallack). Won at Last. Wallack's Theatre, 10 Dec., 1877 (H. J. Montague). †Through the Dark. Fifth Avenue Theatre, 10 Mar., 1879. ††An Iron Will. Low's Opera House, Providence, R. I., 27 Oct., 1879 (Effie Ellsler). ††Hazel Kirke. Madison Square Theatre, 4 Feb., 1880 (Effie Ellsler). A Fool's

Errand (Tourgee's novel). Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, 26 Oct., 1881 (Steele MacKaye). Dakolar (Based on Georges Ohnet's Le Maître de Forges). Lyceum Theatre, 6 Apr., 1885 (Robert B. Mantell). In Spite of All (Based on Sardou's Andrea). Lyceum Theatre, 15 Sept., 1885 (Minnie Maddern). Rienzi (Bulwer Lytton's novel). Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, 13 Dec., 1886 (Lawrence Barrett). †††Anarchy. Academy of Music, Buffalo, 30 May, 1887 (Steele MacKaye). The Drama of Civilization. Madison Square Garden, 27 Nov., 1887 (W. F. Cody). *†††Paul Kauvar; or, Anarchy. Standard Theatre, 24 Dec., 1887 (Joseph Haworth). [See Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists, Vol. III.] †A Noble Rogue. Chicago Opera House, 3 July, 1888 (Steele MacKaye). An Arrant Knave. Chicago Opera House, 30 Sept., 1889 (Stuart Robson). Colonel Tom. Tremont Theatre, Boston, 20 Jan., 1890 (Nat Goodwin). †Money Mad. Standard Theatre, 7 Apr., 1890 (Wilton Lackaye). Cousin Larry. Written 1891. Unproduced. The World Finder. Written 1893. Chicago, 1893.

The plays marked with † are different versions of the same play, produced under different names.

—— Percy. Steele MacKaye: Dynamic Artist of the American Theatre. The Drama, Nov., 1911, Feb., 1912.

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Sheldon, Edward. Salvation Nell. Hackett Theatre, 17 Nov., 1908 (Mrs. Fiske). *The Nigger. The New Theatre, 4 Dec., 1909. Published, 1910. *The Boss. Detroit, 9 Jan., 1911 [In Quinn, Representative American Plays]. Princess Zim-Zim. Albany, 4 Dec., 1911. Egypt. Hudson Theatre, 18 Sept., 1912. The High Road. Montreal, 14 Oct., 1912. *Romance. Albany, 6 Feb., 1913 (Doris Keane). Published, 1914. *The Garden of Paradise. Park Theatre, 28 Nov., 1914. Published 1915. The Song of Songs (Novel by Hermann Sudermann). Eltinge Theatre, 22 Dec., 1914.

Thomas, Augustus. (1859–). Editha's Burglar (With Mrs. F. H. Burnett). Pope's Theatre, St. Louis, 1 July, 1884. The Burglar. Park Theatre, Boston, June, 1888. A Man of the World. Madison Square Theatre, 30 Oct., 1889. Reckless Temple. Standard Theatre, 27 Oct., 1890 (Maurice Barrymore). Afterthoughts. Madison Square Theatre, 24 Nov., 1890 (Agnes Booth). *Alabama. Madison Square Theatre, 1 Apr., 1891. Published, Chicago, 1905. Colonel Carter of Cartersville (Novel by F. Hopkinson Smith). Palmer's Theatre, 22 Mar., 1892. Holly-Tree Inn. Union Square Theatre, 11 Apr., 1892. *In Mizzoura. Hooley's Theatre, Aug., 1893 (N. C. Goodwin). New Blood. McVicker's Theatre, Chicago, Aug., 1894. The Man Upstairs. Hoyt's Theatre, 9 Apr., 1895. *The Capitol. Standard Theatre, 9 Sept., 1895. That Overcoat. 1898. The Hoosier Doctor. Opera House, Newark, N. J., Nov., 1897 (Digby Bell). The Meddler. Wallack's Theatre, 1 Sept., 1898 (Stuart Robson). *Arizona. Grand Opera House, Chicago, 12 June, 1899.

*Oliver Goldsmith. Fifth Avenue Theatre, 19 Mar., 1900 (Stuart Robson). On the Quiet. Hoyt's Theatre, 11 Feb., 1901 (William Collier). Colorado, Palmer's Theatre. 12 Jan., 1902. Soldiers of Fortune (Novel by Richard Harding Davis). Savoy Theatre, 17 Mar., 1902 (Robert Edeson). *The Earl of Pawtucket. Madison Square Theatre, 5 Feb., 1903 (Lawrence D'Orsay). *The Other Girl. Criterion Theatre, 29 Dec., 1903 (Lionel Barrymore). *Mrs. Leffingwell's Boots. Savoy Theatre, 11 Jan., 1905. The Education of Mr. Pipp (Pictures by Charles Dana Gibson). Liberty Theatre, 20 Feb., 1905 (Digby Bell). Delancey. Empire Theatre, 4 Sept., 1905 (John Drew). The Embassy Ball. Daly's Theatre, 5 Mar., 1906 (Lawrence D'Orsay). The Ranger. Wallack's Theatre, 2 Sept., 1907 (Dustin Farnum). *The Witching Hour. Hackett's Theatre, 18 Nov., 1907 (John Mason). *The Harvest Moon. Garrick Theatre, 18 Oct., 1909 (George Nash). The Member from Ozark. Opera House, Detroit, 1910. *As a Man Thinks. Thirty-ninth Street Theatre, 13 Mar., 1911 (John Mason). Published, 1911. Mere Man. Harris Theatre, 25 Nov., 1912 (Gail Kane). Indian Summer. Criterion Theatre, 27 Oct., 1913 (John Mason). Rio Grande. Empire Theatre, 4, Apr., 1916 (Richard Bennett). The Copperhead. Hartford, Conn., 22 Jan., 1918 (Lionel Barrymore). Other plays credited to Augustus Thomas are: Alone. Pickwick Theatre, St. Louis, 1881. The Big Rise. Pope's Theatre, St. Louis, 1881. A Leaf from the Woods (1 act). Pope's Theatre, St. Louis, 1883. A New Year's Call (1 act). Pope's Theatre, St. Louis, 1883. Combustion. Pope's Theatre, St. Louis. 1883. A Night's Frolic (3 acts). Herald Square Theatre, 1888. A Proper Impropriety (1 act). Union Square Theatre, 1889. For Money. Star Theatre, 1890. The Jucklins, 1896. Chimmie Fadden (Book by E. W. Townsend). Palmer's Theatre. Love Will Find the Way (By amateurs only). The Dress Suit (By Amateurs only). The Music Box (By Amateurs only).

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Winter, W. The Wallet of Time, Vol. II, pp. 529–57.

Walter, Eugene. Sergeant James. Boston Theatre, 1901. Boots and Saddles. 1909. The Undertow. Harlem Opera House, 22 Apr., 1907. Paid in Full. Astor Theatre, 25 Feb., 1908. The Wolf. Bijou Theatre, 18 Apr., 1908. *The Easiest Way. Belasco Theatre, 19 Jan., 1909. [See Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists, Vol. III]. Just a Wife. Belasco Theatre, 31 Jan., 1909. The Trail of the Lonesome Pine (John Fox's novel). New Amsterdam Theatre, 29 Jan., 1912. Fine Feathers. Astor Theatre, 7 Jan., 1913. The Knife. Bijou Theatre, 12 Apr., 1917. The Heritage (The Assassin). Playhouse, 14 Jan., 1917. Nancy Lee. Hudson Theatre, 9 Apr., 1918.

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Anspacher, Louis K. *The Unchastened Woman. Thirty-ninth Street Theatre, 9 Oct., 1915. Published 1916.

Biggers, Earl D. Seven Keys to Baldpate (With George M. Cohan). Astor Theatre, 22 Sept., 1913.

Boyesen, Hjalmar. Alpine Roses. Madison Square Theatre, 31 Jan., 1884.

Broadhurst, George. *Bought and Paid For. The Playhouse, 26 Sept., 1911. *The Man of the Hour. Savoy Theatre, 4 Dec., 1906. Published 1916. *What Happened to Jones. *Why Smith Left Home.

Brown, Alice. *Children of Earth. Booth Theatre, 12 Jan., 1915. Published 1915.

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Burk, Charles. *Rip Van Winkle. Adelphi Theatre, London, 4 Sept., 1865 [*See* Moses, Representative Plays by American Dramatists, Vol. III].

Burnett, Frances H. The Lady of Quality. Wallack's Theatre, 1 Nov., 1897.

Carpenter, Edward Childs. Cinderella Man. Hudson Theatre, 17 Jan., 1916. The Pipes of Pan. Hudson Theatre, 6 Nov., 1917.

Clemens, S. L. The Gilded Age (Play by Densmore). Park Theatre, 16 Sept., 1874.

Davis, Richard Harding. *The Galloper. Garden Theatre, 22 Feb., 1906 (In Farces, 1906).

Dazey, Charles T. In Old Kentucky. Copyright. 27 Apr., 1897.

Dickey, Paul. The Misleading Lady. Fulton Theatre, 25 Nov., 1913.

Ellis, Edith. *Mary Jane's Pa. Garden Theatre, 1908. Published, 1914.

Eyre, Laurence. The Things that Count. Maxine Elliott Theatre, 8 Dec., 1913.

Forbes, James. The Chorus Lady. Savoy Theatre, 1 Sept., 1906.

Gates, Eleanor. *The Poor Little Rich Girl. Hudson Theatre, 21 Jan., 1913. Published 1916. *We Are Seven. Maxine Elliott Theatre, 24 Dec., 1913. Published 1915.

Hazelton, George C. Mistress Nell. Bijou Theatre, 3 Oct., 1900. *The Yellow Jacket (With Benrimo). Fulton Theatre, 4 Nov., 1912. Published, Indianapolis, 1913.

Hitchcock, R. and M. W. David Harum. Garrick Theatre, 1 Oct., 1900.

Housum, Robert. The Gypsy Trail. Plymouth Theatre, 4 Dec., 1917.

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Hurlburt, William. A Strange Woman. Lyceum Theatre, 17 Nov., 1913.

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Kummer, Claire. Be Calm, Camilla. Booth Theatre, 31 Oct., 1918. Good Gracious, Annabelle. Republic Theatre, 31 Oct., 1916. The Successful Calamity. Booth Theatre, 5 Feb., 1917.

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McHugh, Augustin. *Officer 666. Gaiety Theatre, 12 Aug., 1912.

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Veiller, Bayard. *Within the Law. Eltinge Theatre, 11 Sept., 1912. The Fight. Hudson Theatre, 2 Sept., 1913. The 13th Chair. Forty-eighth Street Theatre, 20 Nov., 1916.

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CHAPTER XIX

LATER MAGAZINES.

[*Note.* For the early years of magazines founded before 1850, *see, also,* the Bibliography to Book II, Chap. XX.

There are no complete and satisfactory check-lists of American literary periodicals, but those listed below furnish, though often in inconvenient form, most of the material needed by the ordinary student.]

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Atlantic Monthly

[*Note.* Many books of personal reminiscences and the biographies of most of the New England men of letters who flourished in the last half of the nineteenth century abound in references to the Atlantic Monthly. Only a few of the most important are listed here.]

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[Alden, H. M.] Fifty Years of Harper's Magazine. Harper's Magazine, Vol. C, p. 947.
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Sartain, John. The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, 1808–1897. 1899.

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CHAPTER XX

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[*See, also,* Bibliography to Book III, Chap. XIX.]

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CHAPTER XXII

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Selby, Paul. Abraham Lincoln: The Evolution of his Emancipation Policy. Chicago, 1909.
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Thayer, W. M. The Prairie Boy and How he Became President. Boston, 1863. The Character and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln. Boston, 1864. Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln. Boston, 1864. From Pioneer Home to White House. Norwich, Conn., 1882.
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Weltstein, C. T. (compiler.) Was Abraham Lincoln an Infidel? Boston, 1910.
Whipple, W. The Story Life of Abraham Lincoln. Philadelphia, 1908. The Heart of Abraham Lincoln. 1909. The Story of Young Abraham Lincoln. 1915.
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The Lincoln Legend

Here are listed in chronological order certain representative books dealing with Lincoln in the spirit rather of poetry or legend than of history or biography.

It should be remarked, however, that the line is not carefully drawn; that various popular biographies, especially those designed for children, might well be included here, as also most of the popular collections of anecdotes ascribed to Lincoln; and that some of the titles here given are of writings which mean to tell the truth.

The Lincoln and Hamlin Songster, or, the Continental Melodist, comprising a choice collection of Original and Selected Songs, in honor of the People's Candidates, Lincoln and Hamlin, and illustrative of the enthusiasm everywhere entertained for "Honest Abe," of Illinois, and the noble Hamlin of Maine. Philadelphia, 1860. [Most of the campaign biographies were in much the same tone.]

Janvier, F. De H. The Sleeping Sentinel. Philadelphia, 1863. [Poem.]

Thayer, W. M. The Prairie Boy and How He Became President. Boston, 1863. [*See, also*, Thayer, W. M., in foregoing section.]

The Royal Ape: A Dramatic Poem. Richmond, 1863. [Anti-Lincoln.]

A Young Rebelle. Abram. A Military Poem. Richmond, 1863. [Anti-Lincoln.]

The Lincoln and Johnson Union Campaign Songster. Philadelphia, 1864.

The Lincoln Catechism wherein the Eccentricities and Beauties of Despotism are fully set forth. A Guide to the Presidential Election of 1864. 1864. [Anti-Lincoln.]

Lincolniana; or the Humors of Uncle Abe. Second Joe Miller. . . . By Andrew Adderup . . . 1864. [Anti-Lincoln.]

Ferreira, F. A Mort de Lincoln. Canto Elegiaco. Rio de Janeira, 1865.

Judson, E. Z. C. ["Ned Buntline."] The Parricides; or, the Doom of the Assassins. 1865.

Lowell, J. R. Ode Recited at the Commemoration of the Living and Dead Soldiers of Harvard University, July 21, 1865. Cambridge, 1865.

Stoddard, R. H. Abraham Lincoln. An Horatian Ode. 1865.

Whitman, Walt. Sequel to Drum-Taps . . . When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd. And Other Pieces. Washington, 1865.

Plotts, J. N. (compiler). Poetical Tributes to the Memory of Abraham Lincoln. Philadelphia, 1865.

Lincoln's Anecdotes; A Complete Collection of the Anecdotes, Stories, and Pithy Sayings of the late Abraham Lincoln . . . 1867. [Later collections of this sort are not listed but they have been numerous.]

Hylton, J. D. The Præsidicide: A Poem. Philadelphia, 1868.

Taylor, Bayard. The Ballad of Abraham Lincoln. Boston, 1870.

Blanchard, R. Abraham Lincoln the Type of American Genius. An Historical Romance. Wheaton, Ill., 1882.

Oldroyd, O. H. (ed.) The Lincoln Memorial: Album Immortelles. 1882.

Alger, Horatio, Jr. Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy. 1883.

Eggleston, E. The Graysons. 1888.

Kirkland, J. The McVeys. 1888.

Butterworth, H. In the Boyhood of Lincoln. 1892.

Thompson, M. Lincoln's Grave. Cambridge and Chicago, 1894. [Poem.]

Allen, L. W. Abraham Lincoln: A Poem. 1896.

Boyd, Lucinda. The Sorrows of Nancy. Richmond, 1899. [Contains the charge that Lincoln was illegitimate. The Nancy referred to in the title is Nancy Hanks, Lincoln's mother.]

Catherwood, Mary Hartwell. Spanish Peggy. A Story of Young Illinois. Chicago, 1899.

Howe, M. A. De W. (ed.) The Memory of Lincoln. Boston, 1899. [Poetical tributes.]
Churchill, W. The Crisis. 1901.
Markham, E. Lincoln and Other Poems. 1901.
Wright, Carrie Douglas. Lincoln's First Love. A True Story. Chicago, 1901.
Pratt, S. G. Lincoln in Story. 1901.
Staples, E. L. A Man of Destiny: being the Story of Abraham Lincoln; an Epic Poem. Shelton, Conn., 1902.
Andrews, Mary Raymond Shipman. The Perfect Tribute. 1906.
Atkinson, Eleanor. The Boyhood of Lincoln. 1908.
Gerry, Margarita Spalding. The Toy Shop. 1908.
Snider, D. I. Abraham Lincoln: An Interpretation in Biography. St. Louis, 1908. 2 vols. [A "philosophical" biography.]
Williams, F. H. The Burden Bearer: An Epic of Lincoln. Philadelphia, 1908.
Atkinson, Eleanor. Lincoln's Love Story. 1909.
Chittenden, L. E. Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel: The True Story. 1909.
Gale, O. M., and Wheeler, H. M. The Knight of the Wilderness. Chicago, 1909.
Greene, H. A Lincoln Conscript. Boston, 1909.
Grierson, F. The Valley of Shadows. Boston, 1909.
MacKaye, P. Ode on the Centenary of Abraham Lincoln. 1909.
Abbatt, W. (ed.). The Lincoln Centenary in Literature. 1909.
Booth, Mary J. Partial Bibliography of Poems relating to Abraham Lincoln. Ill. Hist. Soc. Journ., Jan., 1909.
Schauffler, R. H. Lincoln's Birthday: A Comprehensive View of Lincoln as given in the most Notable Essays, Orations, and Poems, in Fiction and in Lincoln's Own Writings. 1909.
Borglum, G. The Beauty of Lincoln. Everybody's, Feb., 1910.
Robinson, E. A. The Master. In: The Town down the River. 1910. [This brief poem has been very influential in later interpretations of Lincoln's character.]
Snider, D. J. Lincoln in the Black Hawk War. St. Louis, 1910.
Tarbell, Ida M. Father Abraham. 1911. He Knew Lincoln. 1911.
Williams, A. D. (ed.) The Praise of Lincoln: an Anthology. Indianapolis, 1911.
Andrews, Mary Raymond Shipman. Counsel Assigned. 1912.
Snider, D. J. Lincoln and Ann Rutledge. St. Louis, 1912.
Dixon, T. The Southerner. 1913.
Scott, M. R. Supposed Diary of President Lincoln from the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 until April 14, 1865. Newark, O., 1913.
Snider, D. J. Lincoln in the White House. St. Louis, 1913. Lincoln at Richmond, St. Louis, 1914. [These two works, with those above by the same author, make up The Lincolniad, consisting of two volumes of prose biography (1908), and an elaborate tetralogy in varying metres.]
Bullard, F. L. Tad and his Father. Boston, 1915.
Fletcher, J. G. Lincoln. In: Some Imagist Poets: 1917. Boston, 1917.
Lindsay, Vachel. Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight. In: The Congo and Other Poems. 1915.
Masters, E. L. Spoon River Anthology. 1915. [Numerous poems deal with Lincoln, as is the case in this writer's later volumes.]
Oldroyd, O. H. (ed.) The Poets' Lincoln: Tributes in Verse. Washington, 1915.
Willsie, H. M. Benefits Forgot. 1917.
Sandburg, Carl. Cornhuskers. 1918. [Various poems in this collection.]
Bacheller, I. A Man for the Ages. 1919.

Davis, Mary Wright. The Book of Lincoln. 1919.
Drinkwater, John. Abraham Lincoln: A Play. London, 1919. Lincoln the World Emancipator. Boston, 1920.
Van Doren, C. The Poetical Cult of Lincoln. Nation, 17 May, 1919.
Daviess, Maria Thompson. The Matrix. 1920.
Dixon, T. A Man of the People: A Drama. 1920.
Tarbell, Ida M. In Lincoln's Chair. 1920.

X.

CHAPTER XXIII

EDUCATION

Barnard, Henry (ed.) The American Journal of Education, 1855–82. 31 vols. Index. Washington, 1892.
Boone, R. G. Education in the United States. 1889.
Brown, E. E. The Making of Our Middle Schools. 1903. Origin of the American State Universities. Berkeley, Cal., 1903.
Brown, S. W. The Secularization of American Education. 1912.
Butler, N. M. (ed.) Monographs on Education in the United States. Albany, 1900. 2 vols.
Cubberley, E. P. Rural Life and Education. Boston and New York, 1914. Public Education in the United States. Boston and New York, 1919.
Cubberley, E. P., and Elliott, E. C. State and County School Administration. 1915.
Dexter, E. G. A History of Education in the United States. 1904.
Dewey, John. School and Society. 1899. Democracy and Education. 1916.
Dewey, John and Evelyn. Schools of Tomorrow. 1915.
Eggleston, Edward. The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century. 1900. [Admirable account of early colonial education.]
Gordy, J. P. Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea in the United States. Washington, 1891.
Hinsdale, B. A. Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States. 1898.
Johnson, C. Old-Time Schools and School Books. 1904.
Monroe, Paul (ed.) Cyclopedia of Education. 1911–13. 5 vols. [Articles on many phases of American education, including notable educators, schools, and colleges.]
Monroe, W. S. Bibliography of Education. 1897.
Taylor, J. M. Before Vassar Opened. 1914. [The education of girls.]
Thwing, C. F. A History of Higher Education in America. 1906. A History of Education in the United States since the Civil War. Boston, 1910.
Vandewalker, N. C. The Kindergarten in American Education. 1908.

It has not been thought necessary to list here the titles of books discussed in the text of Chapter XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV

The text of Chapter XXIV is so nearly a catalogue raisonné of American economic literature that it seems unnecessary to repeat here the many titles there listed. For a bibliography of works relating to economic conditions and history *see* E. L. Bogart's Economic History of the United States, 3d ed., 1918, pp. 541–573.

CHAPTER XXV

SCHOLARS

General Authorities

Adams, Charles Francis. A College Fetich. Boston and New York, 1883. Charles Francis Adams 1835–1915: An Autobiography. Boston, 1916.

Adams, Henry. The Education of. Boston, 1918.

Adams, Herbert B. Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia. U. S. Bureau of Education, Washington, 1888.

Aydelotte, F. The History of English as a College Subject in the United States. In: The Oxford Stamp, 1917.

[Barton Catalogue]. Catalogue of the Barton Collection. Boston Public Library. Part I. Shakespeare's Works and Shakespeariana. Part II. Miscellaneous. Boston, 1888.

Bloomfield, L. An Introduction to the Study of Language. 1914.

Bright, J. W. On Some Aspects of the Modern Language Question. Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub., 1885. Concerning the Unwritten History of the Modern Language Association of America. Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub., 1903.

[Brinley Catalogue]. Catalogue of the American Library of the Late Mr. George Brinley of Hartford, Conn. Hartford, 1878–97.

Chapman, J. J. Memories and Milestones. 1915.

Cook, A. S. The Higher Study of English. Boston, New York, and Chicago, 1906.

Dexter, F. B. Biographical Studies of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College History. Vols. 1–5, New York, 1885–1911; Vol. 6, New Haven, 1912.

Dwight, Timothy. Memories of Yale Life and Men, 1845–1899. 1903.

Eggleston, E. The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century. 1900.

Emerson, E. W. The Early Years of the Saturday Club 1855–1870. Boston and New York, 1918.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England. In: Lectures and Biographical Sketches. Boston and New York, 1883.

English in American Universities. By Professors in the English Departments of Twenty Representative Institutions. Ed. Payne, W. M. Boston, 1895.

Faust, A. B. The German Element in the United States. Boston and New York, 1909. 2 vols.

Foster, F. M. K. English Translations from the Greek. A Bibliographical Survey. 1918.

Foster, W. T. Administration of the College Curriculum. Boston and New York, 1911.

Francis, J. W. New York During the Last Half Century. 1857. Old New York, 1866.

Franklin, F. The Life of Daniel Coit Gilman. 1910.

Gilman, D. C. The Launching of a University and Other Papers. 1906.

Goode, G. Brown. The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States. 1890.

Hale, E. E. James Russell Lowell and His Friends. Boston and New York, 1899.

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual. 1908.

Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions: America. Washington, 1908.

[Harvard University]. Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636–1915. Cambridge, 1915.

Henneman, J. B. Two Pioneers in the Historical Study of English—Thomas Jefferson and Louis F. Klipstein. Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub., 1893.

Higginson, T. W. Carlyle's Laugh and Other Surprises. Boston and New York, 1909. Old Cambridge. 1899.

Hildeburn, C. R. A Century of Printing. The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1784. Philadelphia, 1885–86. 2 vols.

Hinsdale, B. A. Notes on the History of Foreign Influences upon Education in the United States. In: Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1897–98, Vol. 1. Washington, 1899.

Howells, W. D. Literary Friends and Acquaintance. 1900.

Jenkins, T. A. Scholarship and Public Spirit. Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub., 1913.

[Johns Hopkins University]. Bibliographia Hopkinsiensis, 1876–1891. Part I: Philology. Baltimore, 1892. Celebration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the University. Baltimore, 1902. Graduates and Fellows of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876–1913. Baltimore, 1914.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of Literary and Scientific Gentlemen, Held in the Common Council Chamber of the City of New York, October, 1830. 1831.

Kingsley, W. L. [ed.] Yale College: A Sketch of its History. By Various Authors. 1879.

[Kittredge Anniversary Papers.] Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge. Boston and London, 1913.

Koch, T. W. Dante in America. Dante Society, Fifteenth Annual Report. Boston, 1896.

Longfellow, Samuel. Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston, 1886. 2 vols.

Mencken, H. L. The American Language. 1919.

Modern Language Association of America. Proceedings at New York, December 29, 30, 1884. Publications, 1885.

Monthly Anthology and Boston Review, The. Boston, 1803–11. 10 vols.

Murray, Sir James A. H. The Evolution of English Lexicography. Oxford, 1900.

Peabody, A. P. Harvard Reminiscences. Boston, 1888. Harvard Graduates Whom I Have Known. Boston and New York, 1890.

Peirce, Benjamin. A History of Harvard University, from its Foundation to the Period of the American Revolution. Cambridge, 1833.

Pollak, Gustav. The Nation and Its Contributors. Nation, July 8, 1915. Fifty Years of American Idealism: The New York Nation, 1865–1915. Boston and New York, 1915.

Prescott, W. H. Biographical and Critical Miscellanies. 1845.

Quincy, Josiah. The History of Harvard University. Boston, 1840. 2 vols.

Sandys, John Edwin. Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning. Cambridge, 1905. A History of Classical Scholarship. Cambridge (England , 1903–08. 3 vols.

Sherzer, Jane. American Editors of Shakespeare: 1753–1866. Mod. Lang Ass. Pub., 1907.

Shorey, Paul. American Scholarship. Nation, 11 May, 1911.

Sihler, E. G. Klassische Studien und Klassischer Unterricht in den Vereinigte Staaten. Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik. Vol. 10, 1902.

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South in the Building of the Nation, The. Richmond, 1909–13. 13 vols.

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Britain and the United States. 1913. American Editors of Shakespeare. In: Shaksperian Studies by Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University. 1916.

Steger, S. A. American Dictionaries. Baltimore, 1913.

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Stokes, A. P. Memorials of Eminent Yale Men. New Haven, 1914. 2 vols.

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Viereck, Louis. Zwei Jahrhunderte deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten. Braunschweig, 1903.

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[Yale Bibliographies.] Bibliographies of the Present Officers of Yale University. 1893.

[Yale Bicentennial.] The Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Yale College. New Haven, 1902.

CHAPTER XXVI

PATRIOTIC SONGS AND HYMNS

This selected bibliography does not include (a) the majority of magazine references, (b) special studies on single songs and hymns, or (c) song and hymn collections. The best single bibliography is contained in the report on The Star-Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, America, Yankee Doodle compiled by O. G. Sonneck, 1909. The best encyclopedic source is naturally Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1906 and its American Supplement, 1920.

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Dwight, James Sullivan. Journal of Music. Boston, 1852–1854.

Elson, Louis Charles. The History of American Music. 1915. The National Music of America and its Sources. Boston, 1900.

Grove, Sir George. A Dictionary of Music and Musicians. 5 vols. London, 2d ed., 1906.

Hubbard, William Lines. American History and Cyclopedia of Music. 12 vols. 1908–1910.

Mathews, William Smythe Babcock. One Hundred Years of Music in America. Chicago, 1889.

Ritter, Frederic Louis. Music in America. 1890.

Sonneck, Oscar George. Bibliography of Early Secular American Music. Washington, 1905.

Patriotic Songs

Banks, Louis Albert. Immortal Songs of Camp and Field; the Story of their Inspiration, together with Striking Anecdotes connected with their History. Cleveland, 1899.

Birdseye, G. Song Composers of America. Potter's Am. Mo., XII:28, 443; XIII:41, 139; XIV:23, 442.

Daniell, Carl A. National Airs and Who Wrote Them. Current Literature, 1896, XX, 453.

Finck, Henry T. Songs and Song Writers. 1900.
Galbreath, C. B. Daniel Decatur Emmett, Author of "Dixie." Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications, XIII, 505–550.
Kobbé, Gustav. Famous American Songs. 1906.
Madeira, Louis Cephas. Annals of Music in Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1896.
Nason, Elias. A Monograph on our National Song. Albany, 1869.
Preble, Henry George. History of the Flag of the United States of America. Chapter on National and Patriotic Songs. 2d ed., Boston, 1880.
Saffell, W. T. R. Hail Columbia, the Flag, and Yankee Doodle Dandy. Baltimore, 1864.
Scott, J. L. Influence of National Song. Western Literary Journal, 1:330.
Smith, Nicholas. Stories of Great National Songs. Milwaukee, 1896.
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Sousa, John Philip. National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands, with copious notes. Philadelphia, 1889. (Compiled by authority of the Secretary of the Navy, for the use of the Department.)
Spofford, Ainsworth R. The Lyric Element in American History. Columbia Historical Society Records, VII. 1904.
Stevenson, E. Irenæus. Our "National" Songs. Independent, 1897, XLIX, 2526–2561.
Unsigned. Celebrated Folk Songs and their History. Metronome, 1903, vol. XIX, no. 9, p. 9.
Wayne, Flynn. Our National Songs and their Writers. National Magazine, 1899–1900, XI, 284.

Hymns

A. E. C. Hymns and Their Stories. Chap. XXIII. 1894.
Belcher, Joseph. Historical Sketches of Hymns, their Writers and their Influences. Philadelphia, 1859.
Benson, Louis F. The English Hymn; its Development and Use. Chap. VIII. London, 1915.
Breed, David R. The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes. Chicago, 1903.
Christophers, S. W. Hymn Writers and their Hymns. 1867.
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Cummings, William N. God Save the King. London, 1903.
Dickinson Edward. Music in the History of the Western Church. Chaps. xxi, xxii. 1902. [Contains bibliography.]
Gould, Nathaniel D. History of Church Music in America. Boston, 1853.
Holyoke, Samuel. Harmonia Americana. Boston, 1791.
Horder, W. Garrett. The Hymn-Lover, Chap. xx. London, 1889.
Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology. Rev. ed. London, 1908.
Lorenz, Edmund S. Practical Church Music. Chap. vii. Chicago, 1909.
Miller, Josiah. Singers and Songs of the Church. London, 1869.
Robinson, Charles S. Annotations upon Popular Hymns. 1893.
Stevenson, W. F. Biography of Certain Hymns. Good Words, 1862, III:641; same art., Living Age, LXXVI: 609.
Tillett, Wilbur F. Our Hymns and their Writers. Nashville, 1892.
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CHAPTER XXVII

ORAL LITERATURE

Texts and Criticism

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American Versions of the Ballad of the Elfin Knight. A. F. L., 7, 228–232.

Ames, Mrs. L. D. The Missouri Play-Party. J. A. F. L., 24, 295–318.

Babcock, W. H. Song Games of the Children of the District of Columbia. Lippincott's Mag., Mar. and Sept., 1886. Games of Washington Children. American Anthropologist, July, 1888.

Backus, Emma M. Cradle Songs of Negroes in North Carolina. J. A. F. L., 7, 310. Early Songs from North Carolina. J. A. F. L., 14, 286–294. Song Games from Connecticut. J. A. F. L., 14, 295–299.

Ballads and Poems relating to the Burgoyne Campaign. Annotated by William Leete Stone. Albany, 1893.

Barry, Phillips. The Ballad of Lord Randall in New England. J. A. F. L., 16, 258–264. Some Traditional Songs. J. A. F. L., 18, 49–59. Traditional Ballads in New England. J. A. F. L., 18, 123–138; 191–214; 291–304. King John and the Bishop. J. A. F. L., 21, 57–59. Folk-Music in America J. A. F. L., 22, 72–81. Native Balladry in America. J. A. F. L., 22, 365–373. Irish Come-all-ye's. J. F. A. L., 22, 374–388. The Origin of Folk Melodies. J. F. A. L., 23, 440–445. A Garland of Ballads. J. F. A. L., 23, 446–454. The Ballad of the Broomfield Hill. J. A. F. L., 24, 14–15. Irish Folk-Song. J. A. F. L., 24, 332–343. New Ballad Texts. J. A. F. L., 24, 344–349. William Carter, the Bensontown Homer. J. A. F. L., 25, 156–168. Some Aspects of Folk-Song. J. A. F. L., 25, 274–283. The Sons of North Britain. J. A. F. L., 26, 183–184. The Transmission of Folk-Song. J. A. F. L., *ibid.*, 27, 67–76. The Collection of Folk-Song. J. A. F. L., 27, 77–78. The Ballad of the Cruel Brother. J. A. F. L., 28, 300–301. The Ballad of the Demon Lover. Mod. Lang. Notes, 19, 238. The Ballad of Earl Brand. Mod. Lang. Notes, 25, 104–105. An American Homilectic Ballad. Mod. Lang. Notes, 28, 1–5. Irish Music in the Hudson Manuscripts. Journal of the Irish Folk-Song Society, 13, 9–17.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

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CHAPTER XXIX

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CHAPTER XXX

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA

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CHAPTER XXXI

NON-ENGLISH WRITINGS I

German, French, Yiddish

I. GERMAN

Eighteenth Century

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Höen, Moritz Wilhelm. Das verlangte nicht erlangte Canaan bey den Lust-Gräbern; oder Ausführliche Beschreibung von der unglücklichen Reise derer jüngst hin aus Teutschland nach dem engelländischen in America gelegenen Carolina und Pensylvanien wallenden Pilgrim absonderlich dem einseitigen übelgegründeten Kochenthalerischen Bericht wohlbedächtig entgegen gesetzt. Alles aus Liebe zur Wahrheit und patriotischem Wohlmeinen zusammen verfasset. Frankfort und Leipzig, 1711.

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Schöpf, Johann David. Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereingten nordamerikanischen Staaten nach Ost-Florida und den Bahama-Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784. Erlangen, 1788. 2 vols. English by A. J. Morrison, Philadelphia, 1911.

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Bernhard, Herzog zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach. Reise Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, durch Nord Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826. Weimar, 1828. English, Philadelphia, 1828.

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CHAPTER XXXII

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